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LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND CHANGE AMONG THE DRUZE

IN ISRAEL

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND CHANGE AMONG THE DRUZE IN ISRAEL

by

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Dedicated to my wife Dena

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LANGUAGE ATTITUDE AND CHANGE AMONG THE DRUZE IN ISRAEL

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This study examines language attitudes and behaviors among the Druze in Israel in order to assess the roles of Arabic and Hebrew in this community. The study utilizes four different approaches: attitude surveys, a survey of linguistic landscapes, a study of language choice in the Internet and an analysis of codeswitching.

The results of the language attitude survey indicate that a significant number of Druze exhibit inconsistent attitudes toward their first language and linguistic behavior patterns that are in line with general sociolinguistic patterns of language change. Young people, those with less education, and females all express significantly positive attitudes toward Hebrew. As reported in the literature, these groups have been instrumental in the process of language change.

Patterns of language production and consumption in both street signage and websites affirm Bourdieu's (1991) ideas regarding linguistic market capital as Hebrew is found to have greater value than Arabic in the Mount Carmel area, where the Druze maintain a strong connection with the Jewish-Israeli economy. In contrast, Arabic has a stronger

presence in Druze neighborhoods in the Lower Galilee area. This is also true of Druze websites, particularly those that address the Palestinian-Israeli community, the majority in the Lower Galilee area. The study finds that while mixed language is the most common code of younger Druze Internet users, a relatively high percentage of cultural tradition and creative writing works were posted in Arabic.

This study also investigates Druze spoken and written codeswitching behavior within the framework of Myers-Scotton's MLF model (1993, 2002). The analysis reveals that Arabic is the Matrix Language of the mixed constituents, although it is not the most common code in overall language produced.

Although Arabic does not show signs of waning in the mixed languages' syntactic structure, and is dominant in cultural tradition and literary works, there is manifest evidence of a language shift toward Hebrew, and the leading groups are: youth in general, and speakers in Mount Carmel.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Several historical and sociopolitical scholarly works (Firro 1999, 1984; Halabi 2006; Hajjar 1996) have argued that the Druze in Israel are undergoing a process of shaping a unique political and national identity, one that differs from that of the Palestinian-Israelis. However, these investigations have rarely focused on the linguistic implications of this process in terms of the Druze's language attitude, use, behavior, and maintenance of their first language, Arabic, the language that plays a major role in defining the social and cultural identity of the Palestinian-Israelis. With this dissertation, my goal is to shed light on the roles of Arabic and Hebrew in the Druze community in Israel whose identity is in flux by investigating four areas: language attitude toward Arabic and Hebrew, language display on the Druze linguistic landscape, online language choice of Druze internet users, and the phenomenon of codeswitching between Arabic and Hebrew among the Druze in Israel.

More specifically the objectives of this study are as follows:

1) To investigate the effects of social and demographic factors such as education, age, gender and marital status on the underlying language attitude of the Druze in Israel toward Arabic and Hebrew.

2) To investigate how in any given Druze area, sociolinguistic and economic relations with the local market have an effect on the language choices found in the Druze linguistic landscape and online communication.

3) To explore the codeswitching behavior between Arabic and Hebrew found in Druze public discourse and examine its grammatical structure constraints in order to assess whether Arabic is still functioning as the Matrix language of the mixed constituents.

1.1 Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation investigates two main areas of the study of language, language attitude and language behavior. Within the five chapters of this study, these two areas will be thoroughly tested and examined from various angles. To introduce the study and connect it to the general linguistic, social and political contexts, this chapter summarizes previous scholarship on the Druze and the sociolinguistic status of Arabic in Israel to provide context for the research on language attitude and behavior. This introduction cites previous work arguing that Hebrew, the national language of Israel, dominates the public sphere of Israel despite the fact that Arabic is recognized as an official language, and that the Druze in Israel are subjected to a general policy intended to create a new national and political identity that differs from that of the Palestinian-Israelis. Chapters two through five present the results of my research on language attitude and practice.

In chapter two of this study, I examine the language attitude of the Druze in Israel toward both Arabic and Hebrew. In this chapter I also aim to shed light on the role of language attitude in the maintenance of the Arabic language among the Druze in Israel. Five demographic and social factors will be assessed: age, gender, level of education, military service and the place of residence of the participants, factors that may indicate the level of language contact with Jewish-Israelis and their culture.

In chapter three I will first explore the Druze linguistic landscape in order to examine the relative de facto status of Hebrew and Arabic in official space that is sponsored by the government, and unofficial space that is sponsored by the private sector. Secondly, I will investigate the symbolic functions conveyed by the Druze Linguistic Landscape in terms of the power relation between the Hebrew-speaking community and the Arabic-speaking community in Israel. In chapter four I will examine the language behavior and preferences of Druze internet users. I argue that among the Druze of the Mount Carmel area, who maintain a high level of language contact and economic relations with Jewish-Israelis, Hebrew dominates the website owners' language production as well as the language consumption of their users. Chapter five will be devoted to the investigation of face-to-face codeswitching behavior between Arabic and Hebrew in Druze public discourse. I argue that codeswitching between Arabic and Hebrew is the unmarked code in informal public discourse among the Druze in the Mount Carmel area. I will also examine the written codeswitching found in Druze websites. I contend that this type of codeswitching resembles face-to-face communication, but is limited to classic

codeswitching in that singly occurring words and islands of the embedded language are governed by the morphosyntactic framework of the first language. Codeswitching, as the findings will show, is the most common language behavior among the Druze community in Israel and signifies both the local identity and non-local identity represented by each language. The language practice of mixing spoken Arabic and Modern Hebrew differs from the traditional diglossia situation, in that Hebrew has become the new "high variety," that replaces Standard Arabic in the written form of communication and spoken Arabic is considered a "low variety."

1.2 The Sociolinguistic Status of Arabic in Israel

Immigrants to Israel have come from all over the world, and therefore Israel is by definition a multicultural and multilingual society. The majority of Israel's population is Jewish and most of the population speaks Hebrew for everyday communication, although Russian, Amharic, Yiddish and Ladino are spoken within some communities[1].

The largest non-Jewish minority in Israel, the Palestinian-Israelis, have not been assimilated into Jewish-Israeli society, and make up about 20% of Israel's population (Abu-Rabia 1993; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999b; Reiter 2009). Most of them are those who remained in Israel after much of them either fled or were expelled because of the

[1] Jewish communities other than those made up of native speakers of Hebrew consist of about 1 million immigrants from the former USSR, who speak some form of Russian; 80,000 Jewish immigrants from Ethiopia, who speak Amharic and Tigrinya, and about 250,000 foreign workers, who speak a variety of other languages. Furthermore, Yiddish is still spoken among a large number of ultra-Orthodox Jews (Shohamy 2006: 70).

war of 1948. The majority resides in segregated towns, but there are those who live among Jews in mixed cities. Palestinian citizens of Israel are native speakers of Arabic, but are also fluent in Modern Hebrew.

Due to the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian/Arab conflict, the definition of Israel as a Jewish-Zionist state, and the absence of a constitution that regulates collective rights for the ethnic and national minorities in Israel, the status of Palestinians and their relationship with the state of Israel are contentious issues. Palestinians in Israel are considered a security risk (Amara 2002; Amara and Mar'i 2002; Smooha 1989, 1990) because of their identification with the national ambitions of their people, and this security argument was used to relieve them of the obligation to serve in the Israeli army.[2] This, however, has also been used by Israeli authorities to justify discrimination against the Palestinian citizens, since many benefits are designed only for those who serve in the army (Amara 2002; Amara and Mar'i 2002).

With the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948, Hebrew became the national language of the state, as stated in the Declaration of Independence (Splosky and Shohamy 1999a: 118). Israel adopted Mandatory Article 82 which was issued in 1922, and granted both Hebrew and Arabic official status, but repealed the official language status of English in section 15(b) of the Law and Administration Ordinance (Deutch 2005).

Although Article 82 officially regulates the status of Arabic and Hebrew, two other laws guarantee Hebrew a preferred status: the Citizenship Law of 1952 (Paragraph 5a)

[2] Mandatory conscription is effective only for Jews and Druze citizens.

that clearly requires some knowledge of Hebrew as a condition for obtaining Israeli citizenship while no knowledge of Arabic is required, and the Chamber of Advocates Law of 1961 (Paragraph 26/3) that requires sufficient knowledge of Hebrew in order to be registered as a law clerk (Amara 2002; Ben-Rafael 1994). In fact, several sociolinguistic studies of Israel show how the state's practical application of its monolingual ideology grants primacy to Hebrew despite the declared equal status of Arabic (Shohamy 2006; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a).

Many language researchers in Israel maintain that there is a palpable discrepancy between the theoretical status of the Arabic language in Israel, and its actual status (see for example Amara 2002; Duetch 2005; Saban and Amara 2004; Shohamy 2006; Soplsky and Shohamy 1999a; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999b; Talmon 2000). Since the mid 1990s, the dissonance between the *de facto* and *de jure* status of Arabic has faced a real and challenging test by civil rights groups, primarily '*Adālah*, the Legal Center for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, (Saban and Amara 2004). '*Adālah*, together with other organizations for civil rights in Israel, has been leading this struggle with increasing success (Saban and Amara 2004). '*Adālah* has worked to advance the status of the Palestinian minority by expanding the scope of commentary provided by Article 82 and the equal rights inherently implied in it for the two languages (Saban and Amara 2004). '*Adālah*'s legal accomplishments in its appeals to the Supreme Court are based, first and foremost, on the fact that it does not challenge Israel as a national Jewish state but rather

calls for a multi-cultural state. Article 18[3] in the Democratic Constitution proposed by '*Adālah* demonstrates the organization's awareness of the sensitivity of this matter to those who formulate Israel's policies, to its Jewish citizens, and an understanding of the extent to which the Israeli judicial system is willing to indulge issues of this nature.

Yet, not all decisions regarding the status of the Arabic language are subject to the authority of the Supreme Court. Many other policies and practices impact the Arabic language in Israel, in particular the language education policy, which refers to Arabic as a foreign language, and a range of attitudes toward Arabic in the Jewish sector (Donitsa-Schmidt et al. 2002, 2004).

1.3 The Primacy of Hebrew

Israel's Declaration of Independence legally established the status of Israel as a nation-state of the Jewish people in 1948, and encountered no resistance to the granting of primacy to the Hebrew language (Ben Rafael 1994; Fishman 2000; Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a). Yet, the document explicitly declares that all citizens of Israel be afforded equal rights with no distinction of race, creed or sex. Moreover, the document emphasizes the right to practice other freedoms such as those of religion, language and education. It may therefore be assumed that language rights are guaranteed by virtue of being identified as one of these declared freedoms.

[3] See: http://www.adalah.org/eng/democratic_constitution-e.pdf . Date of access August 10, 2011.

However, a closer look at Israel's Declaration of Independence reveals that it actually guarantees only individual rights, meaning that the law protects individuals from discrimination, but does not extend its protection to group or community rights (Deutch 2005; Kymilica 2001; Saban and Amara 2004). In recognizing only the rights of individuals, Israel is under no obligation to confer national minority status to Palestinians. Consequently, Israel does not claim to be a "binational or multinational state," as do other multilingual states such as Canada, Belgium, or Switzerland.

Saban and Amara (2004) argue that Israel cannot be classified as a multinational state, or as a "national civic state", a subtype of national state that seeks to blur its multi-ethnic character for the sake of unifying all ethnic communities under one national identity and citizenship. Such states are typically multicultural in that they acknowledge the *cultural rights* of their minority members to the extent that these rights do not threaten the authority of the central government.

Israel, as defined in the Declaration of Independence, is a democratic Jewish state that fits into what Samooha (2002) calls an "ethnic-democratic state" in which it significantly represents one nation, the Jewish people, but at the same time seeks to afford equal rights to non-Jewish citizens. In terms of language rights, Samooha identifies several types of national states and classifies them according to the way they address the status of significant ethnic-linguistic minorities. In binational or multinational states the language of the minority receives full recognition and acknowledgment as being equal to that of the majority, whereas ethnic democratic states with significant ethnic-linguistic

minorities acknowledge only one national language. Although Arabic is legally declared as one of the official languages of the state, in practice it is far from enjoying the same level of equality as Hebrew. The primacy of Hebrew is rooted in the official ideology of the state of Israel which is the commitment to what it called in Hebrew "mizug galuyot", the integration of Jews of all origins. The premise of this ideology is that "the various 'returning exiles' melt into one socially and culturally unified nation grounded in Hebrew, the 'renewed' national language and major carrier for all Jewish legacies" (Ben-Rafael and Brosh 1991: 7).

There is no question that with the establishment of the state of Israel the primacy of Hebrew was firmly set in place. Historically, Yiddish was the first of the casualties of this ideology (Fishman 2000; Kuzar 2005; Nahir 1998), in that it was the language of the first Aliya that arrived in Palestine in the late 19 century. Yiddish was perceived by the Zionist pioneers as a language of repression and exile, whereas Hebrew was embraced as the language of the *new Jew* (Safran 2005). In fact, many new immigrants willingly gave up their first languages in favor of the new national language. Yiddish, Ladino, Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Persian were simply ignored, "...deprived of public symbolic value and kept off the public agenda" (Fishman 2000). As is often the case in other nation states, the adoption of Hebrew as the national language of the Jewish people effectively suppressed not only the various languages of the immigrants, but also the cultural traditions of these newcomers. (Splosky and Shohamy 1999a: 26; Ben-Rafael and Brosh 1991).

To date, Hebrew still maintains its elevated status in the Zionist discourse. In January 2005, the Knesset held a ceremony to mark the centennial anniversary of the revival of Hebrew. Speeches given at this ceremony linked Hebrew with the *new Jew*, a connection that has been put forth since the settlement period at the beginning of the last century. As Reuven Rivlin expressed it:

> Hebrew symbolizes the *new Jew* who speaks the tongue of the land of his fathers, contrary to the Jew who lives in Diaspora, where Hebrew for him is only restricted to his prayer book.[4]

Despite the preferred status of Hebrew, sociolinguistic reality has given rise to a trend toward greater recognition of other languages. In the mid-1990s and in light of the large numbers of Russian immigrants, Israeli authorities decided to recognize Russian as a medium of instruction and to integrate it as a first language in those Jewish schools that also enrolled Russian immigrant students (Shaul, 2008). This decision represents an important milestone in the history of Israeli educational language policy, that is, it initiated a shift from a monolingual ideology to a multilingual one. As we will see, this policy and its repercussions also impact to some extent the teaching of Arabic in Jewish schools.

1.4 The Legal Status of Arabic

In 1922, the British Mandate recognized Arabic as one of the three official languages of Palestine. As stated in Article 82 of the Mandate:

[4]This excerpt was taken from Reuven Rivlin's speech, the speaker of the Knesset in that time. Rivlin represented the Likud party.

> Official languages: All ordinances, official notices and official forms of the government and all official notices of local authorities and municipalities in areas to be prescribed by Order of the high Commissioner shall be published in English, Arabic and Hebrew. The three languages may be used subject to any regulations to be made by the high commissioner, in government offices and the law courts. In case of any discrepancy between the English text of any ordinance, official notice or official form and the Arabic or Hebrew text thereof, the English text shall prevail (Deutch 2005).

Although Article 82 recognizes both Arabic and Hebrew as official languages, it addresses only their use in official contexts and priority is given to English "in case of any discrepancy" between English text and that of Arabic or Hebrew. The recognition of Hebrew as an official language indicates that the status of Hebrew has become equal to that of Arabic. In other words, Arabic was losing its dominance in Palestine.

With the exception of English, Article 82 was adopted by Israel in 1948 granting both Hebrew and Arabic an official status. But the scope of this official status implies a vagueness and lack of clarity that could lead to many different interpretations. As a result, occasional requests would be heard from the Jewish side to nullify it and give predominance to Hebrew de jure, while the Palestinians periodically asked for enforcement of the equal status of Arabic in practice. In 1952 a bill was proposed that would rescind the status of Arabic as an official language, but it was rejected, and only

recently the Ministerial Committee on Legislation rejected another similar proposed bill from the right wing to cancel the official status of the Arabic language[5].

'*Adālah*[6] , as the defender of the legal rights of the Arab minority in Israel, appealed to the Supreme Court several times and had some success in the realm of language rights such as the translation of documents into both languages in courts of law at the expense of the State[7]; the posting of road signs in both languages[8] and the matter of equal signposting in both languages in mixed[9] cities in 2002. These appeals are very important on both the symbolic and functional levels. The placement of Hebrew and English above Arabic on a signpost for example, can undermine the status of the minority group, and suggests that the first two are considerably more important than the third one. Transliterating the Hebrew name to Arabic without adopting the Arab name used prior to the establishment of the state, can also undermine the status of the minority group. For example, transliterating the name of the city "Acre" to Arabic as 'Ako, the Hebrew version, instead of 'Akkā the Arabic version (Saban and Amara 2004). This official language practice that highlights the relative power of Hebrew over Arabic.

The successes of these appeals stem from the fact that the status of Arabic is dealt with not only within the narrow framework of Article 82, but that the Supreme Court Justices linked the language rights of the Arab minority to Israel's stated obligation to

[5] Maariv: 11/2/2009 in Hebrew: http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART1/972/615.html
[6] The Legal Center for Arab Minority Right in Israel.
[7] H.C. 792/02, Adalah v. The Director of the Courts, et. al., petition withdrawn.
[8] H.C. 4438/97, Adalah, et. al. v. The Ministry of Transportation, et. al., Takdim Elyon, 1998 (1) 11.
[9] H.C. 4112/99, Adalah, et. al. v. The Municipalities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, et. al., decision delivered 25 July 2002.

democracy, Jewish values, and the fundamental human rights of freedom and dignity. Former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Aharon Barak, explained that the court's decision to bestow language rights on the Arab minority was based on the fact that Arabic is an indigenous language, not a language of immigrants:

"Can people from various towns with minority groups that speak different languages now demand that signposts in their towns be written in their language?" Chief Justice Barak asked rhetorically, then continued with: "The answer is negative, …the uniqueness of the Arabic language is that it is the language of the largest minority in Israel that has lived here since time immemorial…" (Saban and Amara 2004). Yet, the Supreme Court Justices acknowledged the supremacy of Hebrew as the national language of Israel, similar to any other national language: as French is to the French people or English to the English people (Saban and Amara 2004).

The opinion of the Supreme Court in the matter of the signposts in mixed population towns categorically asserts that Arabic deserves recognition as an official language, while at the same time reinforcing the predominance of Hebrew over Arabic through the acknowledgement of Hebrew as the national language of the state. This inconsistent attitude toward the status of Arabic is reflected in various public contexts.

Public media broadcasting is one context in which the dissonance between the *de jure* and the *de facto* status of Arabic is evident. The Israeli Broadcasting Authority (IBA) for Radio and T.V. Law (1965 & 1990) required broadcasting in Arabic to meet the needs of Arabic speakers (Deutch 2005). In 1992, the regulations were published again adding the

requirement that the percentage of Arabic broadcasting equal that of the Palestinian minority population in Israel. But in 2002, the regulations were modified to limit the broadcasting of Arabic or Arabic translated programs to only 5% of all programming. Furthermore, in the same year most Arabic programming was moved from the Israeli Broadcasting Authority to a channel only available on satellite (Yitzhaki 2008). To date there is no Arabic channel in Israel, whereas a Russian channel began airing in 2002.

Arabic also does not receive much consideration in political or legal contexts. Arab Knesset members are permitted to address the House in Arabic but rarely do so since there is no simultaneous translation to Hebrew available. All laws enacted by the Knesset are published first in Hebrew, and often are not translated into Arabic until months later (Saban and Amara 2004). Although Arabic is permitted in courts of law, it is often used only in religious courts; civil and criminal trials are conducted in Hebrew and often lack effective translation services.

There are some contexts in which the Israeli government does enforce the equal status of Arabic. Election ballots, for example, are printed in both Arabic and Hebrew as required by section 76 of the Knesset Election Law (1964). Currency, paper money, and postage stamps are also printed in both Arabic and Hebrew, and while Arabic is not compulsorily taught in Jewish schools, it is the medium of instruction in Arab schools.

1.5 The Druze in Israel: An Overview

This dissertation focuses on language attitude and practice in the Druze community in Israel as a distinct speech community, which is undergoing a process of shaping a unique political and national identity, one that differs from that of the Palestinian-Israelis.

During the eleventh century CE, the Druze doctrine was established under the Fatimid caliphate in Cairo and set apart from the Shi'i Isma'ili doctrine. Yet, like the Isma'ilis, Druze interpret the Qur'an metaphorically and literarily. The most radical change that sets them apart is the Druze belief that the Fatimid Caliph Al-Ħākim bi-'Amri llāh is the manifestation of the divinity. Druze believe that since human beings are limited with time and space, God can only be comprehended by these limits (Firro 1999).

The Druze community is socially divided into two main groups, the *'uqqāl* (the wise), those who follow traditional religious practices and have been initiated into the secrets of the Druze doctrine, and the *juhhāl*, (the ignorant), who do not practice the traditional religion and have not had the secrets of the doctrine revealed to them. The *'uqqāl* usually maintain a humble life and modest lifestyle. The Druze in Israel are similar in many ways to the Palestinian-Israeli minority, in that they are native speakers of Palestinian Arabic and share most of the cultural traits of this minority and the Levant area.

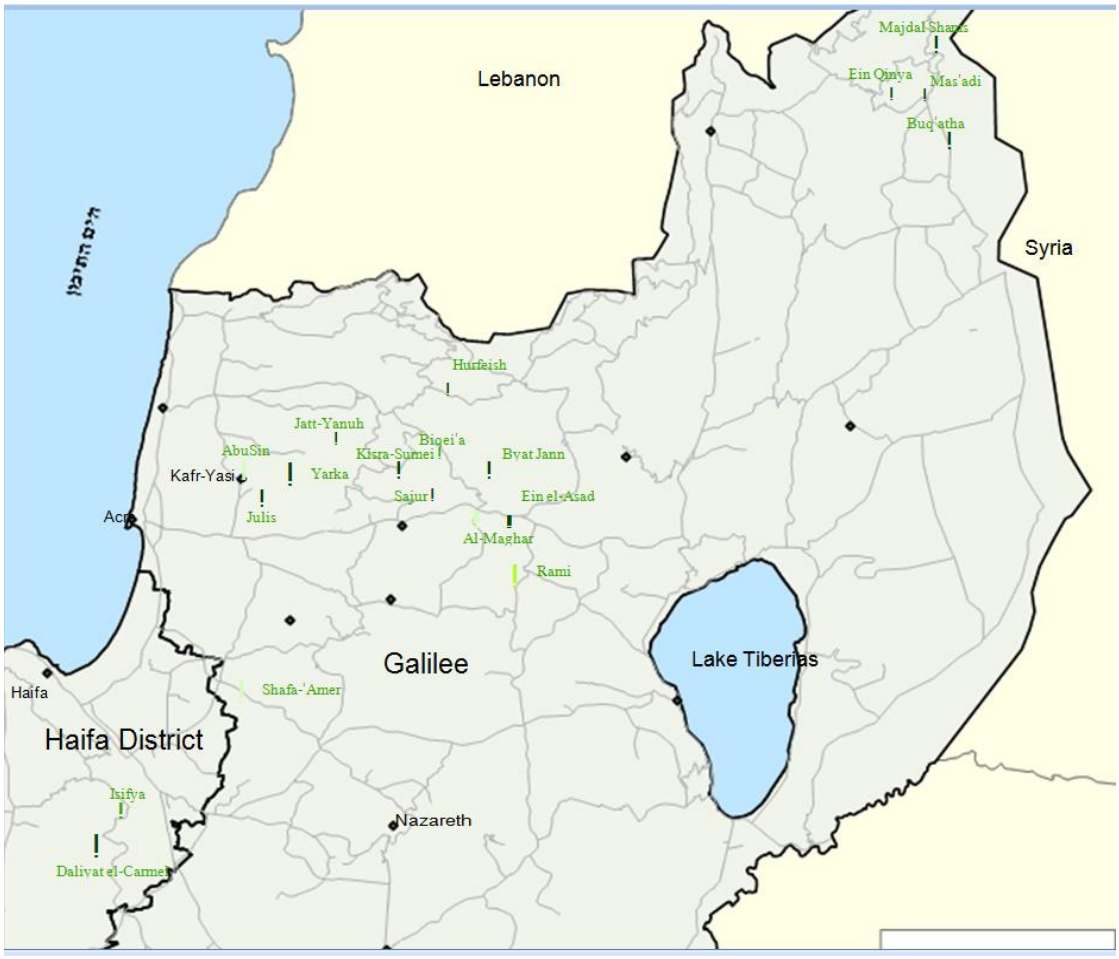
Druze typically live in isolated, rural mountain localities set apart from mainstream culture. The total number of Druze in Israel and the Golan Heights is 127,000[10], which constitutes about 1.7% of Israel's total population and about 8.1% of the Palestinian minority in Israel[11]. Most of the Druze in Israel reside in two districts, the Galilee district and the Haifa district, and the Druze population is dispersed throughout 18 different towns, some of which are exclusively Druze, while in other areas they live alongside Christians and Muslims, either as a majority or as a small minority. There are no mixed Druze-Jewish towns in Israel, with the exception of the village of 'Isifya in the Mount of Carmel area[12].

[10] The study did not include the four Syrian Druze towns in the Golan Heights, Majdal Shams, Mas'adi, 'Ayn-Qinya and Buq'ātha. The Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel does not separate the Syrian Druze population from the Israeli Druze in their general statistics, therefore these figures include the Syrian Druze population. The last available estimate of the Syrian Druze population was in 2009, and it was 20,200, see http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf .

[11] These figures were announced by the Central Bureau of Statistics in April 26, 2011, see the following link http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf

[12] The map of the demographic distribution of Druze in Israel was taken from the Central Bureau of Statistics in Israel: http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2004/01_04_94.map.pdf . The original version of the map was in Hebrew.

Figure 1.1: Map of Druze Distribution in Israel



The residents of Druze communities in Israel experience varying levels of interaction with both Hebrew and Arabic speakers depending upon the town's demographic structure, geographic location, and labor market. A community's local attractions, such as markets or bed-and-breakfast facilities, also impact residents' contact with Hebrew or Arabic speakers. There are three types of Druze communities as characterized by the intensity of each community's contact with Jewish Hebrew speakers on one hand and Palestinian Arabic and Hebrew speakers on the other.

The first group is the Druze population of the two towns in Mt. Carmel, Dāliyat al-Carmel and ʻIsifya. These two communities interact closely with Jewish Israelis due to the fact that they are both surrounded by Jewish towns such as Haifa, Beit Oren, Nesher, Yokne'am and Yagur. These two towns, particularly Dāliyat al-Carmel, typically receive a large number of visitors from the neighboring Jewish towns. Jewish visitors from as far away as Tel-Aviv and central Israel also travel to these local markets, which offer them an authentic and traditional shopping experience[13].

The second group of communities maintains a lower level of interaction with Hebrew speakers and includes the towns of Byat Jann, Julis, Ħurfeish, Yānuh, Jath-th, Yarka, Kisra, Kafr Sumeiʻ, Sājur and ʻAyn al-Asad, al-Biqeiʻa and al-Maghār. All of these towns, with the exception of al-Biqeiʻa and al-Maghār, are exclusively Druze communities, while al-Biqeiʻa and al-Maghār are mixed Druze-Arab towns in which the Druze constitute the majority.

The third group includes the Druze communities of Shafa-ʻAmer, Abu-Sinān, Kafr-Yāsif and al-Rāmi. These towns are populated with a mixture of Druze, Muslims and Christians, with the Druze being in the minority. Because of this, the residents of these communities have a greater degree of interaction with the Arabic language than the two

[13] The following are some examples of tourist websites and advertisements in Hebrew about the attractions in Dāliyat el-Carmel and mount Carmel area:
http://www.goisrael.com/tourism_heb2/Tourist+Information/Discover+Israel/Cities/Dalyat+El+Carmel.htm
http://www.zimmer.co.il/Premium.asp?site_id=3333
http://meny.co.il/hebrew-----בכרמל_משפחות_טיול.html
http://www.israeltraveler.co.il/heb/itinerary/caramel-druze-experience

groups mentioned previously, as well as a greater involvement in the Palestinian culture and political issues related to the Palestinian minority in Israel.

With regard to political activity, the Druze religious leaders in Palestine have played a prominent role, whereas in Lebanon and Syria the political leadership of the community usually rests in the hands of the *juhhāl* (Parsons 2000).

In Palestine, and later after the establishment of the Israeli state, the creation of a "Druze Minority" status among Palestinians in general and Druze in particular was the focus of ideological and policy practices of the Zionist movement. It can be traced back to the 1930s when the Zionist founders of Israel established a cooperative relationship with elite Druze allies.

The various aspects and disciplines of the development of the Druze ethnic status in Israel, or "Druze Minority" have been thoroughly traced, from history and ethnicity to education planning and political policy (Firro 1999; Halabi 1983; al-Qāsim 1976; Halabi 2006). It is not surprising that the Druze community was subject to the divisive segregation policies that the Israeli government put into practice in the early 1930s. Druze identity is a distinctive religious identity and is characterized by very strict community behaviors and boundaries, and although it originally grew out of the Islamic community, it is rejected by many Muslims (Halabi 2006: 127-128). This crack in the Druze religious identity in combination with the sociopolitical circumstances of the 1930s in Palestine provided fertile soil for Zionist leaders to reinforce these policies (Firro 1999 & 1984), one of which was to strengthen the distinctive identity of the Druze.

The other Zionist policy leaders sought to reinforce involved encouraging Druze neutrality in the struggle between the Arabs and the Jews over Palestine prior to the establishment of Israel. Neutrality among the Druze was achieved by stirring up public opinion on violent incidents against Druze individuals, in particular, two prominent Druze figures, Sheikh Hasan Khnayfis from Shafa-ʻAmr and Sheikh Hasan Abu Rukun from ʻIsfiya, who were killed by Palestinian rebels as a result of their collaboration with the Zionists (Firro 1999: 26-27; Parsons 1992).

As far back as the early 1950s, official documents and reports record Israeli policies that emphasize a clear distinction between the Druze and other Palestinians in Israel (Firro 1999:128). In May 1956, after a "special arrangement" between the Israeli authorities and the Druze Chiefs (Firro 1999:153), an obligatory conscription law was imposed on the Druze, an act that significantly impacted the dynamic construction of the Druze identity and the relationship between the Druze and other Palestinians. Palestinians and Arabs perceived this action as a "stabbing in the back" of the Arab nationality (Halabi 2006:23). This perception has been reinforced by Druze soldiers having taken an active part in the Israeli military operations in the occupied territories in the West Bank.

It is important to mention that to this day, many Druze object to serving in the army. Since 1972, the Druze Initiative Committee, a committee that was primarily established to fight the obligatory conscription law, has led an ideological and nationalistic campaign. Some Druze intellectuals challenge serving in the army, and their opposition extends beyond the ideological dimension (Firro 1999). They emphasize the imbalance of

the two sides of citizenship, duties and rights. The Druze feel that they fulfill all their duties as Israeli citizens, including military service, yet when it comes to economic and demographic issues, such as education and confiscation of land, Israel treats the Druze unequally, similar to the way it treats other Palestinians (Firro 1999: 128; Halabi 2006:24).

The second step toward separating the Druze was granting them independent status as a community in 1957, a regulation that was accorded by the Minister of Religions. From that moment, the Druze were no longer categorized and recognized as Muslims (Firro 1999: 160; Hajjar 1996). Following that step, the juridical separation officially occurred in 1961, when the Druze were recognized as an independent religious council and authorized to deal with Druze religious and personal status matters (Hajjar 1996).

In 1962, Israel took another official step in the implementation of its "divide and rule"[14] policy in which the Druze were no longer considered Arabs. The "Arab" nationality was replaced by "Druze" in the wording on both birth certificates and personal identification cards[15]. On the cultural level, Israel decided to bring an end to the recognition of Eid al-Fiţr, the Ramadān holiday, as a holiday among the Druze in 1969.

[14] Firro (2001:40-41) argues that Israel adopted the divide and rule policy right after the establishment of Israel. In 1949 an Inter-Ministerial Committee recommended that focus should be on preventing the Arabs in Israel to coalescing in one national group, therefore the best way to deal with the Arab religious minorities was to divide and subdivide them.

[15] In February of this year the Haifa District Court granted the request of a Druze from 'Isifya to change his nationality from Druze to Arab in the official records, see an article in Haaretz newspaper: http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/spages/1215271.html . Date of access August 10, 2011.

Instead, Israel designated the annual visit of the Druze to al-Nabi Shu'ayb shrine[16] as an official Druze holiday (Halabi 2006:24).

The process of separation continued, reaching a vital stage after 1976 and the adoption of the recommendations of two formal committees, Ben-Dor's and the Knesset's. These two committees were formed in 1974, initially to deal with the emergence of Druze activists, pro-Arab Palestinians, and the implications of the Druze land confiscation. The committee recommended separating the Druze schools from the Arab educational system. This policy was adopted by the ministry of education and the Druze education system was recognized as an independent system, and its curriculum no longer related to the curriculum of the Arab education system. The desire of the Israeli policy makers to separate Druze schools goes back to 1949, when the director of the Muslim and Druze Section in the Ministry of Religions, Dr. Hirshberg, recommended it in one of the Ministry's sessions: "[We] should give every [ethnic] community its own school system in order to prevent them from feeling as one [Arab] entity…We should be clear in our minds *what kind of education we want to give them."*[17] (Firro 1999: 226).

Yet this ideology was not fully practiced until a growing number of Druze intellectuals began to challenge both the authorities and the power of the traditional Druze allies.

[16] Al-Nabi Shu'ayb shrine is located in the town of ḥiṭṭin and is considered the most important shrine for the Druze in Israel. Druze consider al-Nabi Shu'ayb to be one of their five ḥudūd, or five Spiritual Dignitaries.

[17] State Archive B/310/25, May 6 1948. Information in brackets and italic are Firro's additions.

Despite the fact that the phraseology of the two committee reports is different, clearly both share the same intentions: separation of the Druze curriculum from that of the Arab, encouraging the creation of a "Druze" and "Israeli" consciousness among the Druze students; and involving the growing power of left-leaning Druze intellectual elements in these practices, as stated in the Knesset's report:

> …the State of Israel has underestimated the necessity of the education for Israeli Druze consciousness and that [the state] has done little to educate and inculcate the Druze consciousness. This has done damage to the state and its image. When the compulsory conscription's law was applied on the whole Druze community, the State of Israel should have realized it needed also to encourage the intellectuals, to develop the foundation of Israeli-Druze consciousness as the ideological-cognitive basis that could provide Druze youth with a logical explanation of and a psychological background to his complete identification with the state and its readiness to fight for its cause, and to preserve meanwhile his Druze particularity... (Firro 1999: 227)

Before the government's decision to create "the Druze curriculum" in 1976 and in compliance with the two formal committees, teams of Druze educators under the supervision of the Ministry of Education started to prepare materials for a new curriculum called "Druze Heritage." By 1983 the entire curriculum was completed and introduced into the schools.

Based on his study of Druze identity, Halabi argues that the official policy of creating a Druze ethnic identity has not fully succeeded. The majority of second-generation Druze in Israel consider themselves culturally to be Arabs, and Arabic is the major expression

of this identification and this is precisely because Arabic is their first language and the language of the Druze holy books (2006:28).

The present study will show that the linguistic vitality of Arabic among the Druze community in Israel is decreasing. Significant segments of the Druze community express a positive attitude toward Hebrew indicating identification with that language and its representation of modernity and globalization. Druze identification with Hebrew also reflects an awareness of the function of the Hebrew language as a means of social mobility.

In terms of language practice, one of the most common language behaviors of the Druze in Israel is mixed language, which may signify the importance of the local cultural identity represented by spoken Arabic, as well as the non-local cultural identity represented by Hebrew. Finally, this dissertation will show that Hebrew has become a dominant component of the linguistic repertoire and identity of the local Druze in the Mount Carmel area, since it has become the first choice of communication in either virtual or physical environments.

CHAPTER TWO

Language Attitude among the Druze in Israel

The primary goal of this chapter is to investigate the language attitude of the Druze in Israel toward Arabic, their first language, and Hebrew, the majority and more dominant language. A secondary goal of this investigation is to shed light on the relationship of language attitude to the maintenance of the Arabic language among the Druze in Israel.

In the first section of this chapter I will present the theoretical framework of language attitude and its role in language maintenance and shift. In the second section, I will present the methodology of this study, which is based on a language attitude questionnaire that was distributed to Druze participants in Israel. The third section will be devoted to presenting the findings and discussing their implications on the vitality of Arabic among the Druze in Israel. The final section will be dedicated to the conclusions of this study.

2.1 Language Attitude and Language Maintenance

Investigation of the relationship between language attitude and language maintenance and shift has captured the attention of a number of scholars in recent years. Adegbija (1994), Bentahila (1983), Bourhis (2001), Fishman (1989) and Gardner (1972) argued that positive language attitudes are associated with economic motivations and the prestige of a particular language. De Klerk (2000), Fishman (2004) and Brezinger & Dimmendaal

(1992) observe that the investigation of language attitudes can explain the phenomena of language maintenance and shift. When speakers hold a language in low esteem it increases the likelihood that it will not be maintained (Fishman 2004). Because minority languages are often associated with negative attitudes, speakers tend to invest less time in learning them, thus facilitating the process of language shift (De Klerk 2000).

Brezinger & Dimmendaal (1992) point out that examination of language attitudes is crucial in gaining insight into a particular group's language choices and behaviors. Language choice and behavior reflect language attitude, therefore in the process of language shift it is important to investigate the underlying changes in attitudes toward the involved languages (1992: 4).

Hence, examining the conflicting language attitudes toward Arabic and Hebrew among the Druze in Israel will serve as an indicator of the level of vitality of Arabic, that is, it will provide some insight as to whether or not the Arabic language will continue to be maintained among the Druze in Israel or if a language shift toward Hebrew is, in fact, occurring.

Abu-Rabia's 1996 study is the only one to have investigated the effects of language attitude on Druze behavior, yet his study was limited to an educational setting in which he investigated the relation between reading comprehension in Hebrew as a second language and Druze students' attitudes, cultural background and interest in the learning material. He found that Druze students aged 15-16 held positive attitudes toward learning the Hebrew language and toward its speakers. Yet, significantly, they showed

more interest in the culturally familiar texts that are taken from Arab culture and literature (1996:422). Abu-Rabia's conclusions were based on his testing of what Gardner & Lambert (1972) call *integrative* and *instrumental* motivations. Integrative motivation is characterized by a willingness to learn about, integrate with, and communicate with speakers of the target language. Instrumental motivation refers to the anticipated pragmatic gain of learning and communicating with speakers of the target language (1972: 222-229). Both types of motivation have been found to be statistically significant in that Druze students hold positive instrumental and integrative motivation toward learning Hebrew as well as toward the Israeli culture (Abu-Rabia 1996: 422). Abu-Rabia concludes that cultural familiarity with the material was found to be a strong predictor of how interested the students were in reading the text.

However, the findings of Abu Rabia (1996) indicate that age is an intervening factor, based on the fact that Druze teenagers tend to hold very positive instrumental and integrative attitudes toward learning Hebrew as a second language. In this chapter I will investigate language attitude among the Druze in Israel from different aspects. I will argue that the positive attitudes toward the Hebrew language and Jewish culture are not limited to the field of language acquisition; these attitudes are more likely to occur among Druze teenagers in Israel because they live in a bilingual reality in which the dominant language is the one associated with prestige, status and social success. Teenagers are typically the first group to admire and identify with the cultural symbols, values and social norms of the dominant language. Because of this, they may see less stigmatization

in identifying with the dominant language (Fink 2002; Holmes 1992:60). Examining the language attitudes of adolescents then, may predict eventual changes of language behavior in the minority community.

For this study, in addition to age, I have chosen the following factors to investigate: gender, self-reported bilingual competence, level of education, place of residence of the participant, marital status, and military service. These factors were chosen for two reasons, one is that in previous studies regarding language change and maintenance the effects of education and gender were found to be inconclusive; the other reason is that some variables, such as military service are particular to the Israeli situation.

Thomason & Kaufman (1988) argue that the degree or intensity of language contact in bilingual settings has a direct influence on the languages involved, that is, a greater degree of contact leads to a greater degree of bilingualism. In a sociolinguistic situation where languages are not of equal power, this will eventually lead to the development of different attitudes toward both the minority language and the prestige language. In the case of the Druze, there are two factors that significantly increase the amount of language contact between the Druze community on the one hand, and Hebrew speakers, Israeli culture, geographical location, and service in the Israeli army on the other. Two Druze towns, Dāliyat al-Carmel and ʻIsifya, are completely surrounded by Jewish towns. Residents of these two Druze towns have a good relationship with their Jewish-Israeli neighbors, and both offer unique local markets that Jewish shoppers visit on a daily basis.

Other Druze towns are surrounded by Palestinian-Israeli towns whose inhabitants maintain less daily language contact with Jewish Israelis.

Druze also experience greater language contact with Hebrew speakers and Israeli culture in the Israeli army. Three years of military service is compulsory for Druze males, and during this period, the intensity of language contact with Hebrew and with the Israeli culture is significant since the Druze soldiers are required to communicate only in Hebrew in formal settings in the army.

My thesis is that these two environments, geographical location and level of language contact with Hebrew speakers, may have a significant effect on the language attitudes of Druze in these two groups. Dividing the Druze community into three major groups according to their interaction with Hebrew speakers will allow us to test the effect of the level of contact with Hebrew speakers on the language attitudes of the Druze. The first group consists of residents of the Mount Carmel area and those who serve in the army; the second group includes Druze residents who live exclusively in Druze towns with a lower level of interaction with Hebrew speakers. The third group includes Druze residents who live in towns made up of both Muslims and Christians. The close and daily interaction of Druze with the Palestinian minority in Israel may increase the positive attitude toward Arabic, so for this reason I believe it is vital to separate these groups from each other.

In addition to the intensity of language contact, several other factors are thought to play a role in language attitudes and maintenance. A number of studies have explored the

relationship between language maintenance and shift and education level. Some of these studies claim that a higher level of education increased the maintenance of the first language (Fishman, 1989, Wen Lang Li 1982), while other studies have found the opposite to be true: that a higher level of education might actually be a catalyst in the process of language shift (De Klerk 2000; Putz 1991).

My study aims to contribute to this discussion by proposing that the two arguments are evident in different contexts. I propose that those Druze participants with a higher level of education may express a more positive attitude toward Hebrew than toward Arabic. This stems from the fact that this group recognizes more than other groups the extensive use of Hebrew and its powerful status over Arabic in their educational training in Israeli universities and colleges and in their professional careers. For this group, Hebrew may be perceived as the language of modern professional and educational settings while Arabic is likely to be perceived as the language of traditional and local settings.

However, while for educated Druze, Hebrew is the language of social prestige and is associated with higher education and professional settings, the status of Hebrew for unskilled Druze comes from a different source: that of law enforcement and the military. Many unskilled Druze men choose to stay in the Israeli army as professional soldiers, police officers, and jail or border guards.

Gender also plays an important role in language shift and maintenance. It is widely accepted among scholars that women respond less favorably than men to languages of

lower status (Labov 1990; Brouwer 1987; Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977), and since women are more sensitive to social forces and power, especially language power (Gal 1978), a language shift usually starts among women (Paulston 1994:13, cited in De Klerk 2000). Other studies, however, confirm that women retain their first language longer than men during the process of a language shift, probably due to their roles as wives and mothers (Harres 1989:398, cited in De Klerk 2000) and the societal expectation that as such, they are responsible for carrying on a culture's authenticity and traditions.

The data of this study suggests that Druze women tend to express more positive attitudes than men toward Hebrew, the dominant language. This may be due to their sensitivity to social and power relations in both cultures: The positive attitude of Druze women toward Hebrew might be attributed in part to their perception of the prevailing Israeli culture as more liberal than their own conservative Druze society, and one that offers equal opportunities to both genders in the areas of jobs, education and personal freedom[18].

2.2 Methodology

A 58-item questionnaire was developed in both Standard Arabic and Hebrew, and translated into English (see Appendixes A, B and C). The questionnaire was electronically distributed and voluntarily self-administered by a large sample of 504 Druze residing in Israel. The questionnaire was distributed primarily through three local

[18] Only 21.3% of Druze women participate in the workforce. Central Bureau of Statistics, special report announced to the public in April 26, 2011: http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf. Date of access August 20, 2011.

Druze websites: www.myjulis.co.il (henceforth My-Julis), www.myhorfeish.co.il (henceforth My-Horfeish) and www.hona.co.il (henceforth Hona). These websites are Druze entities that deal exclusively with local Druze issues and matters of importance to the people of the Druze towns, Julis, Ḥurfeish and Dāliyat al-Carmel. The HONA website has attracted a large number of Druze viewers from all over the country who actively take part in online discussions of the posted articles and surveys[19]. In addition to being available through the websites, the questionnaire was also distributed via email through a contact list I developed consisting of family, friends and acquaintances.

The questionnaire is comprised of two major sections: one made up of independent variables and one consisting of dependent variables. The independent variables aim to elicit demographic information and a self-evaluation of the participant's proficiency in both Arabic and Hebrew. Among these variables are gender, with a two response scale: female and male; residence groups, with a four response scale: exclusively Druze towns, mixed Druze-Arab towns with Druze majority, mixed Arab-Druze towns with Druze minority, and Druze towns with a high degree of contact with the Jewish community; age groups with a five response scale: ages between 13 and 17.5, ages between 18 and 22, ages between 22.5 and 29, ages between 30 and 46 and ages above 47; level of education with a four response scale: elementary-middle school education, high school education, higher education with no academic title, and university; marital status with a four

[19] See for example the article about a Druze model, which received 449 viewer reactions: http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=191&aid=3525. A survey was conducted inquiring about conducting an official ceremony to honor fallen Druze soldiers, by July 6, 2011, 1109 participants had taken part in this survey: http://hona.co.il/surveyresults.aspx?sid=101. Date of access August 20, 2011.

response scale: single, married with children, married with no children and other; military service with an eight response scale: currently in the army, completed military service, joined the army but did not completed the term, have not joined the army due to age, did not join the army due to religious beliefs, did not join the army due to ideological beliefs and did not join the army due to other reasons; self reported Arabic proficiency with a five response scale: excellent, above average, average, below average and low; and self reported Hebrew proficiency with a five response scale: excellent, above average, average, below average and low.

The dependent variables were grouped into sets: general attitudinal preference toward Arabic/Hebrew; attitudes toward Arabic/Hebrew proficiency; attitudes toward the use of Arabic and Hebrew in different contexts; Arabic/Hebrew language and its social, cultural and religious connections; instrumental attitudinal motives toward Arabic/Hebrew; Arabic/Hebrew and cultural, national and civic identity, attitudes toward language accommodation of Arabic/Hebrew speakers; attitudes toward the increased interest of Druze in learning or speaking Hebrew; concerns regarding the increased use of Hebrew; and attitudes toward the effect of military service on the Druze perception of the Arabic and Hebrew languages and their speakers.

The dependent variable questions were to be answered using a five point Likert response scale: *0-Strongly Agree, 1-Agree, 2-Neither Agree nor Disagree, 3- Disagree and 4- Strongly Disagree*. Some of the questions had an extra category such as *Not Applicable* (see Appendixes A, B and C).

2.3 Results and Analysis

The statistical analysis begins with simple descriptive statistics of the independent variables, and the participants' demographic and social backgrounds. In the next section the frequencies and percentages of each demographic background factor, and the self reported proficiency of Arabic and Hebrew are presented. This is followed by an analysis of patterns that indicate significant differences among the categories of the independent variables: education, gender, age, marital status, military service and participants' residences. In order to determine how these factors influence language attitude, the items on the questionnaire were divided into 12 groups (See Appendix D), each group sharing a particular feature. A series of Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and Univariate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) will be conducted to test whether or not the background variables have an effect on Druze language attitudes in each dimension.

2.3.1 Descriptive Statistics of the Demographic Background Variables

In this section I will present the descriptive statistics of three demographic background variables: gender, residence of the participants and residence of the participants based on the intensity of the community's language contact with Hebrew and Arabic speakers.

The questionnaire was distributed in both languages, Standard Arabic and Hebrew. Three hundred and three respondents, or 60.1% completed the survey in Arabic and 201

respondents, or 39.9% completed it in Hebrew. Both genders are well represented in this survey, 288 (57.4%) males and 214 (42.6%) females.

Table 2.1: Language of the survey and gender

Variable	***N***	**%**
Language		
Arabic	303	60.1
Hebrew	201	39.9
Total	504	100
Gender		
Female	214	42.6
Male	288	57.4
Total	502	100

As reflected in Table 2.2, all of the Druze towns and locations were represented in the survey. The greatest number of participants (*n* = 68, or 13.5%) reside in Dāliyat al-Carmel. Combining this number with those residing in ‘Isifya (*n* = 43 or 8.6%) brings the number of participants from the Mt. of Carmel area to 22.1%, the highest geographical representation in the study. This representation is proportionate to the population as a

whole[20]. This area maintains the highest level of language contact with Hebrew speakers due to its geographic location and economic conditions; this kind of response is significant for analyzing the effect of this type of contact on the language attitudes of the Druze.

[20] In 2009, 19% of the Druze lived in the Mount Carmel towns, Dāliyat el-Carmel and ʻIsifya, see the report of the Central Bureau of Statistics from April 26, 2011, http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf. Date of access August 20, 2011.

Table 2.2: Residence of the participants

Residence	***N***	**%**
(1) An Arab town not integrated with Druze	2	0.4
(2) Jewish town	15	3.0
(3) Military Camp	1	0.2
(4) Abu Sinān	11	2.2
(5) Biqei‘a/ Piki’in	29	5.8
(6) Bayt Jann	23	4.6
(7) Jath-th	10	2.0
(8) Julis	44	8.8
(9) Ḥurfeish	43	8.6
(10) Dāliyat al-Carmel	68	13.5
(11) al-Rāmi	9	1.8
(12) Sājur	9	1.8
(13) Shafa -‘Amer	52	10.4
(14) ‘Isifya	43	8.6
(15) ‘Ayn al-Asad	4	0.8
(16) Kisra	24	4.8
(17) Kafr sumei‘	3	0.6
(18) Kafr-Yāsif	1	0.2
(19) al-Maghār	36	7.2
(20) Yānuh	20	4.0
(21) Yarka	55	11.0

Residency responses were re-grouped into four categories according to the degree of contact residents of a particular town have with Arab and Jewish communities. The categories are: 1) Exclusively Druze towns characterized by less contact with both Jewish and Arab communities. This category includes respondents from the towns Bayt-Jann, Jath-th, Julis, Ħurfeish, Sājur, ‘Ayn al-Asad, Kisra, Kafr sumei‘, Yānuh and Yarka; 2) Mixed Druze-Arab towns characterized by some degree of contact with Arab communities, including Biqei'a and al-Maghār, in which Druze are the majority; 3) Mixed Arab-Druze towns characterized by a high level of contact with Arab communities, such as Abu Sinān, al-Rāmi, Shafa-‘Amer, and Kafr-Yāsif, and 4) Druze towns with a relatively high level of contact with the Jewish community. This category includes the towns Dāliyat al-Carmel and ‘Isifya and those Druze who live in Jewish towns.

The findings indicate that 46.8% of the responses came from category one, exclusively Druze towns with little contact with Arab and Jewish communities, 25.3% of the responses came from category four, from Druze living in Dāliyat al-Carmel and ‘Isifya, both towns with a relatively high intensity of contact with the Jewish community, 14.9 % came from category three, mixed Arab-Druze towns in which the Druze are in the minority and 12.9 % came from category two, mixed Druze-Arab towns in which Druze

make up the majority. These percentages are relatively close to the Druze population distribution in Israel [21] (see Table 2.3):

Table 2.3: Residence groups

Residence Group	***N***	**%**
Druze towns with less contact with both communities	235	46.8
Mixed Druze Arab towns, Druze comprise the majority	65	12.9
Mixed Druze Arab town, Druze comprise the minority	75	14.9
Druze towns with high levels of contact with the Jewish community	127	25.3
Total	502	100

Obtaining data from areas with different levels of contact with Arab and Jewish communities was useful for gauging the effect of the level of contact on the language attitude of the Druze, and may also provide some insight into the different trends of Arabic maintenance among the Druze communities.

[21] See the Central Bureau of Statistics announcement of April 26, 2011 at http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf

2.3.2 Descriptive Statistics of Social Variables

The goal of this section is to present the descriptive statistics generated by the responses of the participants according to the background variables: age, education, marital status and military service.

The survey includes participants of varying ages (see Table 2.4). Participants were categorized into five age groups: from 13 to 17.5, from 18-22, from 22.5-29, from 30-46 and over 47. Age group one includes participants between the ages of 13 and 17.5 who are typically in either middle school or high school, and have not yet served in the Israeli army, therefore maintaining the lowest contact with the Jewish community (n = 54 or 11%). Group two includes participants between the ages of 18 and 22, and the male participants of this group are required by law to join the Israeli army for 3 years. Those who do not join the army, such as females and religious males, typically attend colleges or join the labor market. There were 133 (27.2%) participants in this group. Group three includes those aged 22.5 to 29 years, and there were 123 (25.2%). This group may be searching for stability in both their jobs and their social lives after finishing college or military service. The fourth group includes those between the ages of 30 and 46, middle-aged participants who have obtained a relative degree of social stability (n = 137 or 28%). The last age group includes those over 47 years of age (n = 42 or 8.6%).

Table 2.4 Social variables

Social Variable	*N*	%
Age		
13-17.5	54	11.0
18-22	133	27.2
22.5-29	123	25.2
30-46	137	28.0
47-66	42	8.6
Total	489	100
Marital Status		
Single	266	53.0
Married with children	171	34
Married with no children	35	7.0
Other	30	6.0
Total	502	100

Table 2.4 (cont.): Social variables

Social Variable	*N*	%
Education		
Elementary - Middle school	12	2.4
High School	132	26.4
Higher education without a university degree	96	19.2
University[22]	260	52.0
Total	500	100

The marital status responses indicate that about half of the participants (53%) are single, while 41% of the participants are married. The rest (6%) are either divorced or widowed. Of the total, 34 % have children, while 7% do not. With regard to education, a large number of Druze respondents (52%) earned a degree or attended university 26.4% are high school graduates or those still attending high school, and 19.2% attended or are attending higher education institutes rather than university. The smallest group consists of those participants attending elementary or middle school (2.4%)

The representation of those with a higher level of education than high school is 71.2% of the total participants. Recent demographic statistics on the Druze by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics reveal that only 14.5% of the Druze attend colleges and

[22] The difference between the two education categories "Higher education without a university degree" and "University" is that the first group refers to people with degrees such as associate or technical degrees, while university refers to those with Bachelor and above degrees.

universities[23]. Nearly 40% (39.7%) of the Druze population finished high school, 34.2% finished middle and elementary school, and 11.5% of the Druze do not have any kind of formal education[24]. These percentages are actually higher than the percentages obtained in this study because a much greater percentage had some higher education.

The majority of the participants attended Druze middle schools, 68.5 % of the total, with 63.8% having attended Druze high schools, 28.4% having attended Arab or mixed Druze Arab middle schools and 29.9% having attended Arab or mixed Druze-Arab high schools. A relatively small 5.5% of Druze respondents attended Jewish or military high schools.

With regard to occupation, the findings reveal that 21.4% of the participants work in the state sector, 7.1% currently serve in the military, 12.5% run a private business and 59% work in other jobs. Forty four and a half per cent of the participants served either a full or partial term in the military, while 31.2% did not join the army because of their religious beliefs. Religious Druze males are not required to serve in the army but must go through a special process to obtain an exemption, whereas Druze women are automatically given an exemption for religious reasons. Of those who did not serve in the army, 6.4% made that choice based on ideological beliefs, meaning these participants refused to join the army due to national, pacifistic or antimilitaristic reasons (see Table 2.5).

[23] See the report of the Central Bureau of Statistics from April 26, 2011, http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf. Date of access August 20, 2011.
[24] See http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf. Date of access August 20, 2011.

Table 2.5: Military service

Military service	*N*	%
Currently in the army	35	8.0
I completed my military service	139	31.9
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	20	4.6
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	31	7.1
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	136	31.2
I did not join the army due to other reasons	47	10.8
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	28	6.4

Official and detailed statistics about Druze serving in the Israeli army are not helpful in determining the level of Druze males' language contact with Hebrew speakers in the Israeli army since this specific information is not made available to the public. According to the Israel Defense Forces (IDF) website, the enlistment percentage of Druze in the Israeli army is 83% of the total number of Druze males[25], but this figure does not indicate whether or not the enlisted Druze continue to serve in the army.

[25] See an announcement of the IDF from July 15, 2009: http://dover.idf.il/IDF/News_Channels/bamahana/09/27/04.htm. Date of access August 20, 2011.

2.3.3 Arabic and Hebrew Proficiency Reports

In order to elicit their perceived language proficiency, participants were asked to evaluate their overall proficiency in both Standard Arabic and Hebrew. In this study, language proficiency refers only to self-reported competence in Modern Standard Arabic and Hebrew. Self-evaluation of one's language competence may be indicative of how an individual identifies him/herself and even how a person judges others, although it may also be associated with participants' attempt to make their language behavior appear more culturally and socially acceptable (Guerini 2006:21). Therefore, a higher level of self-evaluation of Hebrew competence, for example, may indicate identification with community linguistic norms that place a greater value on the status of Hebrew than on other languages. On the other hand, a low self-evaluation of Arabic proficiency may reflect a language ideology that places great importance on formal grammatical accuracy. Since the education system of teaching Arabic generally focuses more on reception than on production, some speakers may feel self-conscious about their ability to produce Modern Standard Arabic and this may be reflected in their self-evaluation.

The results of the survey, summarized in Table 2.6, reveal that 33.7% of the participants indicated that their Arabic proficiency is excellent, while 53% rated their Hebrew proficiency as excellent. In other words, more than half of the participants (53%) rated their Hebrew proficiency "excellent". Whether or not the self-reported Hebrew language competence of the participants is a true representation or over-rated, these findings suggest that the participants feel more competent in Hebrew than Arabic.

The self-reported proficiency rate may also reflect the desire of Druze participants to obtain a higher proficiency in Hebrew, the prestigious and dominant language, because of the extensive use of Hebrew in the job market and in educational and professional training institutes.

Table 2.6: Arabic and Hebrew proficiency

Social Variable	***N***	**%**
Arabic proficiency		
Excellent	170	33.7
Above Average	166	32.9
Average	122	24.2
Below Average	34	6.7
Low	11	2.2
Hebrew proficiency		
Excellent	270	53.6
Above Average	171	33.9
Average	52	10.3
Below Average	3	0.6
Low	3	0.6

2.3.4 Statistical Analyses of the Statements According to the Background Variables

In this section I will show how the independent variables of education level, gender, age, marital status, military service and residence of the participants affect the language attitudes of the Druze community in Israel. The findings will show that overall there is a great deal of variation in language attitude across these background variables. Some of the results of this study match those found by other studies, for example, those having to do with gender, age and marital status. Other findings, such as those related to education, add new evidence to an ongoing debate in this area of study.

A series of Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and Univariate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) will serve to test whether or not the background variables, the independent variables education level, gender, age, marital status, military service and residence of the participants have an effect on Druze language attitudes in each dimension. Univariate Analyses of Variance (ANOVA) are designed to test whether or not any single independent variable has an effect on any single dependent variable. MANOVA is used to observe the effect that one or more independent variables may have on two or more dependent variables that share a specific trait (Bary and Maxwell 1985:7). For this reason it was necessary to use MANOVA to analyze the effects of the background variables on the dependent variables. For example sets of statements 14, 30, 40, 47 and 51 that have to do with the same dimension, attitude toward Hebrew proficiency, were grouped together for MANOVA testing (see Appendix D, Group four).

In order to determine the influence of each background factor on language attitude, the statistical analysis was performed in three stages; first a series of MANOVAs were conducted to determine which one of the background variables effect the dependent variables as a whole. If the MANOVA revealed statistical significance between a particular set of dependent variables sharing a specific feature[26] and any one of the background variables, Univariate Analyses of Variance was used to determine which statements were significant across the background variable.

In the third stage, Tukey[27] tests were performed to determine significant differences between pairings of the background factors. For all statistical tests, a p-value < 0.05 was considered statistically significant. All analyses were performed using PASW 18 software.

2.3.4.1 Education Level

The findings of this section indicate interesting and potentially contradictory variation of language attitude across education groups. Participants with lower levels of education tend to be more positive than those participants with higher levels of education in their general view of Hebrew, Hebrew competence and fluency, and accommodation of Hebrew speakers rather than Arabic speakers. These results support the claim that those with lower levels of education in the minority community maintain a more positive attitude toward the majority language and consequently this may decrease the

[26] See the classification of the items on the questionnaire in Appendix D.
[27] Tukey is a statistical test generally used in conjunction with an ANOVA to find which of the independent variable categories' means are significantly different from one another

maintenance of their first language (Fishman 1989, Wen Lang Li 1982). However, at the same time, the "university" level of education group has a slightly lower preference for Arabic entertainment than those who reported "high school" and "higher education with no university title". These results support my hypothesis that those who hold university degrees have a lower opinion of Arabic popular culture and the language that this culture represents. Educated Druze are more likely to associate Arabic popular culture with traditional Druze and local identity.

The findings also suggest that the level of education does not influence the participants' language attitude in aspects that we may expect it does, such as in statement 26: *I think Hebrew is more accurate and precise than Arabic*, statement 18: *I think Arabic is more elegant than Hebrew*, or 46: *Arabic poetry and stories are closer to my heart than those of Hebrew ones,* and as in statement 51: *When I hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud*.

For example, we may expect that those with a lower level of education maintain a significantly more positive attitude toward Hebrew believing it to be the key for social mobility and identification with non-local social and economic dynamic, and therefore responses that describe Hebrew as a precise, accurate and elegant language may uncover these attitudes. Additionally we may also expect those participants with a lower level of education to be more conservative than other groups with regard to women's rights and liberal values as in statement 51. We would also expect that educated Druze's perception of Arabic poetry and literature will differ from those with less education since their

formal education has enabled them to consume and evaluate such materials in a different manner.

In the following pages I will present in detail the statistical findings related to the influence that education level has on the variation of language attitude dimensions among the Druze community.

2.3.4.1.1 Education Effect on Group One: The Preference toward Hebrew when Compared to Arabic

To elicit general opinions of Hebrew as compared to Arabic (see Appendix D, Group one), a MANOVA test was conducted on the incorporated responses to statements 15, 22, and 26, and statistically significant differences ($p<005$) were found across the level of education factor (See Appendix E, Table I), which means that people with different education levels hold different attitudes toward Hebrew when compared to Arabic.

However, a series of ANOVAs followed by Tukey tests yielded that two statements were found statistically significant in this group across the factors of level of education, statement 15: *I wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic,* and statement 22: *I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic.* No statistically significant differences were found for statement 26: *I think that Hebrew is more precise and accurate than Arabic,* across the level of education categories. This means that the education factor does not impact participants' opinions as to whether or not Hebrew is more precise and accurate than Arabic. In fact, we may expect those with lower levels of

education maintain more positive attitudes toward Hebrew than those with higher levels of education, since Hebrew is perceived as the key for social mobility for this group.

The results of the mean scores in statement 15 across education reveal statistically significant differences (see Table 2.7) between participants who reported a "university" education (M=3.26, SD=0.993) and those who selected "high school" (M=2.87, SD=1.265). Those who selected "high school" were more likely than participants who reported a "university" education to agree with this statement. Similarly, those who reported an "elementary-middle school" education (M=2.45, SD=1.635) were more likely than those who selected "high school" (M=2.87, SD=1.265) to agree with this statement. In responses to statement 22: I *think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic*, statistically significant ($p<0.05$) differences were found across education ($F(3,491)=6.838$, $p<0.001$). Tukey tests were conducted to determine which categories of education variable significantly differ, revealing that those participants who reported having a university level of education (M=3.0, SD=1.004) were more likely than those with a high school education (M=2.5, SD=1.2295) to strongly disagree with the proposition that Hebrew is a more advanced language than Arabic. (see Table 2.7). In other words, university-educated Druze reject the superiority of Hebrew over Arabic.

Table 2.7: Descriptive statistics for statements 15 & 22

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 15: I wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic			
Education			
Elementary - Middle school	2.45	1.635	11
High School	2.87	1.265	126
Higher education without a university title degree	2.97	1.222	94
University	3.26	0.993	250
Total	3.08	1.145	481
Statement 22: I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic			
Education			
Elementary - Middle school	2.36	1.567	11
High School	2.50	1.295	126
Higher education without a university title degree	2.82	1.173	94
University	3.00	1.004	250
Total	2.82	1.151	481

2.3.4.1.2 Education Effect on Group Two: The Preference toward Arabic when Compared to Hebrew

The respondents were asked to express their opinion on three statements on general attitudinal preference toward Arabic when compared to Hebrew, statement 18: *I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew*, statement 44: *I prefer to watch Arabic language TV programs, series and entertainment rather than the Hebrew ones*, and

statement 46: *Arabic poetry and stories are closer to my heart than those of Hebrew ones.* The findings suggest that those who reported having a "university" education exhibited a less positive preference than other groups toward Arabic entertainment, preferring instead entertainment in Hebrew. These results are inconsistent with the previous results concerning general attitude; this group, when compared to other education groups, expressed a more positive attitude toward Arabic than Hebrew. The less positive attitude of the university education group toward Arabic entertainment may be a manifestation of the participants' desire to distance themselves from popular culture.

The MANOVA test indicated statistically significant differences for the factor of level of education in group two (See Appendix D and Appendix E, Table II). ANOVA tests indicated that statement 44: *I prefer to watch Arabic TV programs, series and entertainment rather than the Hebrew ones,* is the only statement that differed significantly across education level groups. Tukey tests showed statistically significant differences between the "university" group and the "high school" group (p=0.012), and between the "university" group and the "higher education without university title" group (p=0.039). Participants who reported a "high school" (M=1.44, SD=1.335) level of education or a "higher education with no university title" (M=1.45, SD= 1.295) have slightly lower mean scores than other groups, particularly the "university" (M=1.87, SD=1.269) education group (See Table 2.8). Therefore, those in the "high school" group and those who reported "higher education with no university title" have a slightly higher preference for Arabic entertainment over Hebrew than those who reported a "university"

level of education. These results support my hypothesis that those who hold university degrees have a lower opinion of Arabic popular culture and the language that this culture represents. Educated Druze are more likely to associate Arabic popular culture with traditional Druze who are less educated.

Table 2.8: Descriptive statistics: Statements 44 across education

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 44: I prefer to watch Arabic language TV programs, series and entertainment rather than the Hebrew ones, and the question			
Education			
Elementary - Middle school	2.09	1.044	11
High School	1.44	1.335	130
Higher education without a university title degree	1.45	1.295	95
University	1.87	1.264	248
Total	1.68	1.300	484

2.3.4.1.3 Education Effect on Group Four: Attitudes toward Druze Hebrew Proficiency

Five statements meant to elicit information about the Druze attitude toward Hebrew proficiency. Those statements include: statement 14: *Being fluent in Hebrew means a lot to me,* statement 30: *Druze who speak Hebrew fluently really impress me,* statement 40: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency*, statement 47: *I will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any*

other language, and statement 51: *When I hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud*. The effect of the education variable was tested by MANOVA and statistically significant differences ($p<0.05$) were found across level of education groups (see Appendix E, Table IV).

The findings of this section also reaffirm my hypothesis that those with lower levels of education would express a more positive attitude toward Hebrew, rather than the expected result of those with a higher level of education having a more positive attitude toward the more prestigious language.

ANOVA tests indicated statistically significant differences across education level for statement 40: I *feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency*, ($F(3, 488)=3.046$, $p=.028$). Follow-up Tukey tests indicate there are significant differences between the groups of "elementary-middle school" and "higher education with no university title" participants ($p=0.022$), and between the "elementary-middle school" group and the "university" group ($P=0.022$). Participants who reported having an elementary-middle school education ($M=0.40$, $SD=0.516$) significantly agreed with statement 40: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency*, while participants in the "higher education without university title" ($M=1.47$, $SD=1.117$) and the "university" groups ($M=1.44$, $SD=1.117$) agreed only slightly with statement 40. These results suggest that participants with a lower level of education have a more positive attitude toward Hebrew fluency than those with more education.

Table 2.9 Descriptive statistics: Statement 40 across level of education

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 40: I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency			
Education			
Elementary - Middle school	0.40	0.516	10
High School	1.30	1.041	127
Higher education without a university title degree	1.47	1.210	90
University	1.44	1.117	247
Total	1.38	1.115	474

As can be seen, the perception of Hebrew competence significantly differs across the education level factor, however the findings of group three of the questions, which were designed to elicit attitudes toward Arabic fluency, indicate that there is no statistically significant difference among the participants (see Appendix E, Table III). One explanation for the fact that there are no differences between the level of education categories over the group of questions related to Arabic proficiency is the fact that proficiency in Standard Arabic does not play any major function in the Druze participants' professions or in their higher level of education, whereas Hebrew plays a significant role in both areas.

2.3.4.1.4 Education Effect on Group Five: Contextual Factors and Language Attitudes

The questionnaire included five statements intended to elicit attitudinal information about the use of Arabic and Hebrew in different contexts: general usage, as in statement 19: *I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic*; usage in political contexts as in statement 24: *Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*; usage in a romantic context as in statement 25: *Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*; usage in the school system as in statement 33 :*I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry* , and statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools*. In MANOVA tests, statistically significant differences in the responses for the five combined questions were found across levels of education (see Appendix E, Table V).

Overall, participants were against replacing Arabic with Hebrew, but to varying degrees. Those with a higher level of education strongly disagreed with replacing Arabic with Hebrew as the medium of instruction; the only group who disagreed less with this statement were those who reported an elementary-middle school level of education.

The results of ANOVA showed that only statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools,* was statistically significant across levels of education ($F(3,479)=3.094$, $P=.0.027$). Tukey testing did not reveal any differences between the levels of education in statement 43. However, it seems

that all participants except the "elementary-middle school" group significantly disagreed with replacing Arabic with Hebrew as the medium of instruction in Druze schools (see Table 2.10). The "elementary-middle school" group disagreed, but less strongly, with statement 43 (M=2.50, SD=1.354):

Table 2.10: Descriptive statistics: Statement 43 across level of education

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 43: I would prefer it if Hebrew would replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools			
Education			
Elementary - Middle school	2.50	1.354	10
High School	3.11	1.201	126
Higher education without a university title degree	3.11	1.354	92
University	3.35	0.997	249
Total	3.22	1.144	477

2.3.4.1.5 Education Effect on Group Six: Cultural Milieu and Language Attitudes

Four statements were incorporated into the questionnaire to test the connection between language attitudes and cultural milieu: statement 20: The *Arabic language is important in communicating with the Arab World*, statement 21: *The Arabic language is important in communicating with other Druze*, statement 37: *Preserving the Arabic language strengthens Druze connections to their heritage*, and statement 45: *Preserving*

the standard Arabic language strengthens Druze connections to their religious heritage (See Appendix D). Statement 20: The *Arabic language is important in communicating with the Arab World*, was the only question from this group for which differences were found across level of education ($F(3, 489)=3.502$, $p=.015$). Tukey tests and descriptive statistics (see Table 2.11) showed significant differences between the "elementary-middle school" group ($M=1.58$, $SD=1.240$) and all other education groups: the "high school" group ($M=0.73$, $SD=0.935$, $p=0.025$), the "higher education without university title" group ($M=0.63$, $SD=0.950$, $p=0.01$) and the "university" group ($M=0.81$, $SD=1.202$, $p=0.043$). Those with an elementary-middle school level of education were less likely to agree that Arabic is important in communicating with the Arab world, while those with other educational levels strongly agreed with this statement. Although participants with a lower level of education expressed positive attitudes toward Arabic TV entertainment, the results indicate that the participants do not see the importance of communicating with Arabs in Arabic. Therefore, a positive attitude toward the Arabic culture does not necessarily indicate a strong sense of belonging to that culture.

Table 2.11: Descriptive statistics: Statement 20 across education groups

	N	Mean	SD
Statement 20: The Arabic language is important in communicating with the Arab World.			
Education			
Elementary - Middle school	12	1.58	1.240
High School	131	0.73	0.935
Higher education without a university title degree	94	0.63	0.950
University	256	0.81	1.028
Total	493	0.77	1.003

2.3.4.1.6 Education Effect on Group Nine: Language Accommodation and Language Attitudes

The questionnaire included questions inquiring about attitudes toward the relationship between language behavior and the accommodation of both Arabic and Hebrew speakers.

Examining the dimension of language accommodation, differences between the education variable groups were statistically significant. Those who reported an elementary-middle school education may not completely avoid Hebrew when they encounter Arabic speakers, yet stated that they hold marginally positive attitudes toward accommodating Hebrew speakers. Two statements were incorporated into the questionnaire to elicit information about Druze language accommodation of Arabic speakers, statement 39: When *I visit an Arab village or city in Israel I tend to avoid*

speaking in Hebrew, and statement 50: *When I visit Jordan and Egypt, I avoid using Hebrew*. The two statements were combined and tested with a MANOVA test, and education was found to be statistically significant ($p<0.05$) (see Appendix E, Table VII). After conducting a series of ANOVA tests, responses to statement 50 were found to be statistically significant across education levels ($F(3,480)=4.589$, $p=0.004$), while there were no statistically significant differences for statement 39 across education variable.

Tukey tests identified significant differences in responses to statement 50 between the "elementary-middle school" group, the "higher education without university title" group ($p=0.008$), and the "university" group ($p=0.035$). Examination of the mean scores of each group, reveals that those who have an elementary or middle school education had the highest mean scores ($M=1.70$, $SD=1.494$), which means that they are less likely to avoid speaking in Hebrew when they visit Jordan or Egypt. Those who reported "higher education without university title" ($M=0.86$, $SD=0.914$) and those who reported having a university education ($M=0.68$, $SD=0.946$) are much more likely to avoid speaking in Hebrew when they visit Egypt or Jordan (see table 2.12). These results suggest those with a higher level of academic education are more concerned with accommodating Arabic speakers in Arab countries by avoiding speaking Hebrew, their second language.

Table 2.12: Descriptive statistics: Statement 50 across education groups

	Mean	SD	N
Education			
Elementary - Middle school	1.70	1.494	10
High School	1.01	1.023	130
Higher education without a university title degree	0.68	0.946	93
University	0.86	0.914	251
Total	0.88	0.975	484

The participants were asked to provide their opinion on language accommodation toward Hebrew speakers, and two statements were used to assess their opinion: statement 41: *When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone Jewish or Arab in Hebrew*, and statement 58: *When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the "correct" pronunciation without any evidence of an Arabic accent*. To test for significant differences of the two statements when combined, one-way MANOVA tests were conducted. The results of the tests show that there were statistically significant differences in responses ($p<0.05$) across education factor groups (see Appendix E, Table VII).

A series of ANOVA tests revealed that statement 41: *When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone, Jewish or Arab, in Hebrew*, was statistically significant across the

variable of education ($F(3,486)=6.533$, $p<0.001$). Statement 58 was found to be statistically significant across education ($F(3,481)=5.829$, $p=0.001$).

Looking within the groups for statement 41, Tukey tests and descriptive statistics (see Table 2.13) indicate that those who reported a university education ($M=3.01$, $SD=0.967$) differed significantly from those who reported an elementary or middle school education ($M=1.91$, $SD=1.375$, $p=0.008$), those who selected "high school" education ($M=2.68$, $SD=1.252$, $p=0.024$), and those who chose "higher education without university title" ($M=2.63$, $SD=1.284$, $p=0.029$). With regard to statement 58: *When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the "correct" pronunciation without any evidence of an Arabic accent*, a statistically significant difference was found between those who selected "university" ($M=2.39$, $SD=1.272$) and those who reported a "high school" education ($M=1.82$, $SD=1.374$, $p=0.001$).

Table 2.13: Statements 41, 58 across education groups

	Mean	SD	N
Education			
Statement 41: When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone (Jewish or Arab) in Hebrew			
Elementary - Middle school	1.91	1.375	11
High School	2.68	1.252	130
Higher education without a university title degree	2.63	1.284	93
University	3.01	0.967	249
Total	2.82	1.141	483
Statement 58: When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the 'correct' pronunciation without an evidence of an Arabic accent			
Elementary - Middle school	1.91	1.375	11
High School	1.82	1.374	130
Higher education without a university title degree	2.00	1.351	93
University	2.39	1.272	249
Total	2.15	1.338	483

From these figures we can conclude that education affects an individual's attitude toward Hebrew accommodation. Participants who reported having a university education say that they do not feel the need to speak in Hebrew with everyone in Jewish towns or to conceal their Arabic accent when they speak Hebrew, while other groups, with the exception of those who reported an elementary-middle school education, disagreed less strongly with statement 58: *When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the*

"correct" pronunciation without any evidence of an Arabic accent. Participants who reported having an elementary-middle school education were slightly more accommodating, stating that they tended to speak Hebrew while in Jewish towns, and participants who selected "high school" agreed to some extent that they tend to conceal their Arabic accent when they speak Hebrew (see Table 2.13). These results are in line with the previous results related to general attitude toward Hebrew and Hebrew fluency, in which participants with a lower level of education expressed a more positive attitude toward Hebrew.

2.3.4.2 Age Factor

Overall, analyses of the effect of the age factor support the claim that younger Druze are the first group to admire and identify with the cultural values of Hebrew as the more prestigious language. The results of this section, as we will see in the following pages, show that younger Druze hold more positive attitudes toward Hebrew than Arabic in general, toward Hebrew proficiency rather Arabic proficiency, and toward language accommodation of Hebrew speakers but not of Arabic speakers.

2.3.4.2.1 Age Effect on Group One: The Preference toward Hebrew When Compared to Arabic

The findings of this section indicate that age affects the participants' opinion of Hebrew when compared to Arabic. Younger Druze, those aged 13-17.5, hold a more positive view of Hebrew when compared to Arabic than do other groups, while middle-

aged participants, aged 30-46, tend to hold a significantly low opinion of Hebrew when compared to Arabic. These results are in line with the theories that the age factor influences one's language attitude toward a second language. A generally positive attitude toward Hebrew is evident in younger participants.

MANOVA yielded statistically significant differences between the age variable and the incorporated dependent variables (Responses to statements 15, 22 and 26). Separate ANOVAs were performed and statistically significant ($p<0.05$) differences were found across age groups ($F(4, 478)=2.595$, $p=0.036$) in two statements 15 and 22 as reflected in Table 2.14. Based on the mean scores, one can conclude that younger participants, those aged 13-17.5 years, disagreed less with statements 15: *I wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic* and 22: *I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic,* than other groups, especially participants aged 30-46. A statistically significant difference was found in participants between the ages of 13-17.5 ($M=2.62$, $SD=1.333$) and the age group made up of 30-46 year olds ($M=3.19$, $SD=1.072$) in statement 15: I *wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic*.

In statement 22: *I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic*, statistically significant differences were found between the 13-17.5 age group ($M=2.27$, $SD=1.328$) and three other age groups, ages 18-22 ($M=2.76$, $SD=1.239$), ages 22.5-29 ($M=2.87$, $SD=1.109$) and ages 30-46 ($M=3$, $SD=0.985$). Hebrew seems to represent modernity and progress in the opinion of younger Druze, while Arabic does not. This perception may

indicate not only attitude, but also identification with Hebrew and the culture it represents.

Table 2.14: Descriptive statistics for statement 15 and 22

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 15: I wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic			
Age			
13-17.5	2.62	1.333	51
18-22	3.10	1.167	127
22.5-29	3.06	1.111	119
30-46	3.19	1.072	133
47-66	3.20	1.030	40
Total	3.07	1.143	470
Statement 22: I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic			
Age			
13-17.5	2.27	1.328	51
18-22	2.76	1.239	127
22.5-29	2.87	1.109	119
30-46	3.00	0.985	133
47-66	2.85	1.051	40
Total	2.81	1.148	470

2.3.4.2.2 Age Effect on Group Three: The Preference toward Arabic when Compared to Hebrew

The findings of the dimension "attitudes toward Arabic when compared to Hebrew" (See Appendix D) showed differences across age groups. The ANOVA statistical tests yielded statistically significant differences across age only in statement 18. Statistically significant differences were found for participants between the ages of 13-17.5 and 30-46 (p=0.007). As demonstrated in Table 2.15, participants aged 30-46 (M=0.87, SD=1.123) strongly agreed with statement 18: *I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew*, while those aged 13-17.5 (M=1.55, SD=1.309) agreed less with this statement. Here as well, the responses of younger Druze are consistent with the general language perception of this age group toward the prestige language and the scope that this language represents. Hebrew as a prestige language is the preferred language over Arabic, and is associated with progress as well as elegance.

Table 2.15: Descriptive statistics: Statement 18 across age

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 18: I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew			
Age			
13-17.5	1.55	1.309	53
18-22	1.26	1.352	133
22.5-29	1.11	1.196	123
30-46	0.87	1.123	135
47-66	1.20	1.100	41
Total	1.14	1.239	485

2.3.4.2.3 Age Effect on Group Four: Attitudes toward Arabic Proficiency

Four statements were incorporated into the questionnaire to elicit attitudinal information toward Arabic proficiency (See Appendix D) and to assess in particular, the attitudes toward self-evaluation of Modern Standard Arabic proficiency. These include statement 13: *Being fluent in Arabic means a lot to me*, statement 31:*I feel embarrassed when I receive criticism about my Arabic language*, statement 34: *Druze who speak Arabic fluently really impress me*, and statement 36: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Arabic proficiency.*

A MANOVA test was performed using these four combined questions and the age variable was found to be statistically significant ($p<0.05$) for the combined four statements (see Appendix E, Table III).

There were statistically significant age differences for statement 13: Being *fluent in Arabic means a lot to me* ($F(4,481)=5.046$, $p=0.001$). Based on Tukey tests, differences were found between the age group 13-17.5 and three older groups: ages 22.5-29 ($p=0.01$), ages 30-46 ($p<0.001$), and ages 47-66 ($p=0.022$). Comparing the mean scores of the age categories, a difference can clearly be seen between the younger age group ($M=0.92$, $SD=0.935$) and the group of 30-46 year olds ($M=0.39$, $SD=0.712$).While participants aged 13-17.5 agreed with statement 13, other groups agreed with it more strongly. These results support Fink's theory that this age group is influenced more than other age groups by the values and social norms of the dominant culture (Fink, 2002):

Table 2.16: Descriptive statistics: Statement 13 across age groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 13: *Being fluent in Arabic means a lot to me*			
Age			
13-17.5	0.92	0.935	51
18-22	0.56	0.872	126
22.5-29	0.54	0.821	119
30-46	0.39	0.712	136
47-66	0.45	0.803	42
Total	0.54	0.828	474

The findings of this section indicate that proficiency in Modern Standard Arabic is not highly valued among younger Druze, which may suggest that they do not anticipate gains resulting from being fluent in Modern Standard Arabic.

2.3.4.2.4 Age Effect on Group Four: Attitudes toward Hebrew Proficiency

Examining the influence of the age factor on language attitudes toward Hebrew proficiency reconfirms that there are attitudinal differences between the younger age group, 13-17.5, and older age groups, especially the middle-aged group of 30-46 year olds. Younger people have more positive attitudes toward Hebrew proficiency and less positive attitudes toward Arabic proficiency than the middle-aged group who generally have a less positive attitude toward Hebrew in general, and Hebrew proficiency in particular.

A series of ANOVA tests followed by Tukey tests yielded statistically significant differences in attitudes toward Hebrew proficiency across age groups only in statement 40: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency* (F(4,476)=5.047, p=0.001). Tukey tests revealed that differences exist between age group 13-17.5, age group 18-22 (p=0.021), and age group 30-46 (p=0.001). A significant difference was also found between age group 22.5-29 and age group 30-46 (p=0.014). Respondents aged 13-17.5 (M=0.92, SD=0.845) feel more proud when they receive a compliment about their Hebrew proficiency. Participants aged 30-46 (M=1.63, SD=1.025) tended to agree less with statement 40 in comparison to those aged 13-17.5 and those aged 22.5-29 (M=1.18, SD=1.068):

Table 2.17: Statement 40 across age groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 40: I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency			
Age			
13-17.5	0.92	0.845	51
18-22	1.47	1.229	125
22.5-29	1.18	1.068	116
30-46	1.63	1.025	131
47-66	1.44	1.184	41
Total	1.38	1.111	464

2.3.4.2.5 Age Effect on Group Five: Contextual Factors and Language Attitudes

The questionnaire included five statements intended to elicit attitudinal information about the use of Arabic and Hebrew in different contexts: general usage, usage in political contexts, usage in a romantic context, and usage in the school system (See Appendix D). In MANOVA tests statistically significant differences were found for the five combined questions across age (see Appendix E, Table V).

ANOVA test results revealed significant differences by age for statement 19: *I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic* (F(4,482)=2.482, p=0.043), statement 24: *Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic* (F(4,479)=2.546, statement 33: *I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry,* (F(4,472)=2.656, p=0.032) and statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools,* (F(4,467)=2.459, p=0.045).

Tukey tests and descriptive statistics analyses (see Table 2.18) were used to identify significant differences between age groups. Responses to statement 19: *I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic*, showed significant differences between ages 22-29.5 (M=2.28, SD=1.389) and ages 30-46 (M=2.22, SD=1.468, p=0.035), with those aged 22-29 disagreeing slightly more with statement 19 than those aged 30-46. In statement 24: *Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*, the 13-17.5 age group (M=1.46, SD=1.128) differed significantly from the 30-46 age

group (M=2.10, SD=1.313, p=0.024), indicating that younger respondents tend to believe that Hebrew is more effective than Arabic in discussing political issues, while those aged 30-46 expressed more neutral opinions regarding statement 24: *Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*. Significant differences were found between the 13-17.5 age group (M=1.58, SD=1.540), the 22.5-29 age group (M=2.28, SD=1.389, p=0.01) and the 30-46 age group (M=2.22, SD=1.468, p=0.038) in statement 33: *I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry*:

Table 2.18: Descriptive statistics: Statements 19, 24, 33 and 43 across age groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 19: I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic			
Age			
13-17.5	1.365	1.348	54
18-22	1.53	1.362	132
22.5-29	1.20	1.286	123
30-46	1.68	1.377	137
47-66	1.68	1.254	41
Total	1.48	1.345	487

Table 2.18 (cont.): Descriptive statistics: Statements 19, 24, 33 and 43 across age groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 24: Political issues can be discuss more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic			
Age			
13-17.5	1.46	1.128	52
18-22	1.94	1.363	132
22.5-29	1.96	1.319	121
30-46	2.10	1.313	137
47-66	1.71	1.312	42
Total	1.92	1.319	484
Statement 33: I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry			
13-17.5	1.58	1.540	50
18-22	2.07	1.520	125
22.5-29	2.28	1.389	117
30-46	2.22	1.468	134
47-66	1.90	1.314	39
Total	2.10	1.468	465

Table 2.18 (cont.): Descriptive statistics: Statements 19, 24, 33 and 43 across age groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 43: I would prefer it if Hebrew would replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools			
Age			
13-17.5	2.92	1.307	50
18-22	3.11	1.246	125
22.5-29	3.24	1.134	117
30-46	3.44	0.905	134
47-66	3.21	1.196	39
Total	3.23	1.138	465

A slight majority of those aged 13-17.5 agreed with replacing Arabic with Hebrew as the medium of instruction of science subjects in Druze schools. Both the 22.5-29 age group and the 30-46 age group disagreed with the statement that feelings can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic, while those aged 13-17.5 agreed to some extent with statement 33: *I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry*. No significant differences were found between age groups in statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools*.

2.3.4.2.6 Age Effect on Group Eight: Identity Factors and Language Attitudes

The only identity factor and language attitude connection impacted by the age factor is that between Palestinian dialect and being Palestinian as in statement 55: *Since Druze in Israel speak the Palestinian dialect, they are considered Palestinians*.

ANOVA testing ($F(4,312)=3.536$, $p=0.008$) for age found significant differences for those between ages 22.5-29 ($M=2.80$, $SD=1.192$) and ages 47-66 ($M=1.75$, $SD=1.351$, $p=0.003$). Younger participants disagreed that there was a connection between the Palestinian dialect and Palestinian national identity, while older participants expressed slight agreement concerning this connection. The rejection of the young Druze participants to the connection between Arabic and Palestinian identity may indicate that language and identity are shifting among this age group.

2.3.4.2.7 Age Effect on Group Nine: Language Accommodation and Language Attitudes

The age factor was statistically significant in the MANOVA test on group nine (See Appendix D, and Appendix E, Table VII). In general, younger participants, those aged 13-17.5 and those who were under the required age for army service reported a more positive attitude toward accommodating Hebrew speakers.

Statistically significant differences were found between age groups for statements 41: *When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone Jewish or Arab in Hebrew*, and 58: *When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the "correct" pronunciation without*

any evidence of an Arabic accent, as indicated by Tukey testing and descriptive statistics analyses (see Table 2.19). In statement 41 significant differences were found between ages 13-17.5 (M=2.37, SD=1.268), ages 18-22 (M=2.84, SD=1.265, p=0.045), ages 22.5-29 (M=2.97, SD=1.037, p=0.007), and ages 30-46 (M=2.93, SD=0.982, p=0.011). Based on these results, one can conclude that all these groups actually avoid speaking in Hebrew with everyone in a Jewish town, but the level of disagreement varies; those aged 13-17.5 expressed slight disagreement, whereas other groups tended to disagree more strongly with statement 41.

Table 2.19: Descriptive statistics: Statements 41 and 58 across age groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 41: When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone (Jewish or Arab) in Hebrew			
Age			
13-17.5	2.37	1.268	52
18-22	2.84	1.265	124
22.5-29	2.97	1.037	120
30-46	2.93	0.982	135
47-66	2.51	1.267	41
Total	2.82	1.146	472
Statement 58: When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the "correct" pronunciation without any evidence of an Arabic accent			
13-17.5	1.46	1.244	52
18-22	2.02	1.414	124
22.5-29	2.15	1.370	120
30-46	2.47	1.196	135
47-66	2.37	1.199	41
Total	2.15	1.336	472

For statement 58, statistically significant differences were found between ages 13-17.5 (M=1.46, SD=1.244), ages 22.5-29 (M=2.15, SD=1.370, p=0.014), ages 30-46 (M=2.47, SD=1.196, p<0.001) and ages 47-66 (M=2.37, SD=1.199, p=0.012). Statistical significance was also found between ages 30-46 and ages 18-22 (M=2.02, SD=1.414, p=0.034). Younger participants, aged 13-17.5 were the only group who might be inclined

to eliminate any Arabic accent when they speak in Hebrew, whereas other groups were not likely to make this accommodation, with the exception of the group of 18-22 year olds who expressed a neutral opinion (see Table 2.19).

2.3.4.2.8 Age Effect on Group Ten: Language Attitudes toward Druze Interest in Hebrew

This section includes only statement 35: The *Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic*, and this statement was found statistically significant across the age variable ($F(4,475)=5.249$, $p<0.001$). There were statistically significant differences in responses between the 13-17.5 age group and the 30-46 age group ($p=0.001$), and the 47-66 age group ($p=0.004$) as indicated by Tukey tests. Looking at the mean scores' differences between groups (see Table 2.20), it appears that Druze youth aged 13-17.5 agreed with statement 35, while the older groups only slightly agreed with this statement.

Table 2.20: Descriptive statistics: Statement 35 across age groups

	Mean	SD	N
Age			
13-17.5	0.91	1.024	53
18-22	1.29	1.142	129
22.5-29	1.29	1.098	119
30-46	1.62	1.164	137
47-66	1.74	1.289	42
Total	1.38	1.159	480

2.3.4.3 Gender Factor

The data of this study indicates that males and females differ in their language attitude. This study supports the theoretical notion that women hold more positive attitudes toward the dominant and more prestigious language because women respond less favorably than men to languages of lower status (Labov 1990; Brouwer 1987; Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977). The study also suggests that men expect women to retain their first language and carry on a culture's authenticity and traditions.

2.3.4.3.1 Gender Effect on Group Four: Attitudes toward Hebrew Proficiency

Hebrew proficiency appears to be more important to females than males. Responses by male participants indicated that they are less positive than female participants on the issue of Druze females who are proficient in Hebrew. The responses of Druze males imply that they expect women to be responsible for carrying on a culture's authenticity and traditions. Because of this expectation, Druze males hold a less positive attitude toward Hebrew proficiency in women as they view Hebrew as a symbol of modernity and liberal values.

Moreover, given the fact that Hebrew is the dominant and prestigious form of language in Israel, these results validate the findings of other studies regarding gender and language, that is, that women express more positive attitudes toward the prestigious language as a result of their desire for social mobility and equal economic opportunities.

With regard to the detailed statistics analyses for group four across gender, ANOVAs performed on the five statements of group four (See Appendix D) revealed statistically significant differences between gender in statements 40: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency,* (F(1,491)=6.735, P=.001) and 51: *When I hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud* (F(1,481)=14.605, p<0.001). Mean scores of statement 40 reveal that females (M=1.23, SD=1.049) agreed more than males (M=1.51, SD=1.251) with feeling proud when they receive a compliment about their Hebrew proficiency. For statement 51, females (M=1.93, SD=1.2) agreed more than males (M=2.36, SD=1.251) that they feel proud when they hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently (see Table 2.21).

This difference between Druze males and females when it comes to attitudes toward Hebrew, the dominant and more prestigious language in Israel, is consistent with the findings of other studies of language and gender. These studies suggest that women favor prestigious language forms more than men do, and that middle-class women in particular are instrumental in introducing new linguistic forms to their communities (Labov 1990). A woman's choosing to use a more prestigious language may be a reflection of her struggle for higher social and economic status, either through employment or marriage (Gal 1998).

Table 2.21: Descriptive statistics: Statements 40 and 51 across gender groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 40: I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency			
Gender			
Female	1.23	1.049	201
Male	1.51	1.149	274
Total	1.39	1.115	475
Statement 51: When I hear a young Druze woman speaks Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud			
Female	1.93	1.200	201
Male	2.36	1.251	274
Total	2.18	1.247	475

2.3.4.3.2 Gender Effect on Group Ten: Attitudes toward Druze Interest in Hebrew

The findings indicate that the perception of the Druze interest in Hebrew differs between Druze females and males, with women appearing to believe that men are more interested in Hebrew than men. ANOVA test yielded statistical significant differences across gender ($F(1,490)=8.474$, $p=0.004$) in statement 35: The *Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic*. According to the descriptive statistics analysis (see

Table 2.22), females (M=1.22, SD=1.05) believe more strongly than males (M=1.53, SD=1.237) that the Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic:

Table 2.22: Descriptive statistics: Statement 35 across gender

	Mean	S D	N
Statement 35: Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic			
Gender			
Female	1.22	1.050	210
Male	1.53	1.237	282
Total	1.40	1.170	492

2.3.4.4 Marital Status Factor

Arabic appears to be more important to "married" people, specifically those who are married with children, than to other marital status groups. Responses of married participants indicated that they are more positive than other participants toward issues such as the elegance of Arabic, Arabic poetry and expressing emotions and feelings in Arabic. These results may indicate that married Druze identify more strongly with Arabic and the culture that is represents, while the responses of the other groups may indicate a less favorable attitude toward Arabic and its representation of tradition and local identity**.** These results might be attributed to the fact that married people tend to hold more

conservative attitudes toward family values and traditions than their unmarried counterparts, as Felts & Weisberg claim (2011).

2.3.4.4.1 Marital Status Effect on Group Two: Preference toward Arabic When Compared to Hebrew

Married Druze seem to favor Arabic poetry and to perceive Arabic as more elegant than Hebrew. The findings indicate that two statements, 18 and 46 from group two (see Appendix D) yielded statistically significant differences across the marital status factor.

An ANOVA test revealed that the responses to statement 18: *I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew*, differ significantly across marital status. The marital status group "other"[28] differed significantly from the group "married with children" ($p=0.008$) as well as from the group "married with no children" ($p=0.019$). The mean scores of the two groups "married with children" ($M=0.93$, $SD=1.135$) and "married with no children" ($M=0.83$, $SD=1.150$) are significantly higher than those of the group "other" ($M=1.72$, $SD=1.222$). Overall, married Druze showed a significantly higher level of agreement than other marital groups with the statement that Arabic is more elegant than Hebrew.

In the responses to statement 46: *Arabic poetry and stories are closer to my heart than those of Hebrew ones,* statistical significance was found across marital status ($F(3,486)=2.72$, $p=0.044$), yet Tukey tests did not reveal any statistically significant

[28] Other indicates a divorced person or widow/widower.

difference between the various marital status groups. Inspection of the mean scores shows that the group "married with children" (M=0.76, SD=1.058) agreed much more strongly with statement 46, than the group “other” (M=1.31, SD=1.137). Those participants who have children expressed a more positive attitude than other marital status groups toward the first language, Arabic, and what it represents culturally. Arabic represents an attitude shift of married Druze embracing local culture, tradition, and identity, whereas Hebrew likely represents younger Druze and their identification with modernity and a more prestigious culture.

Table 2.23: Descriptive statistics: Statements 18 and 46 across marital status

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 18: I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew			
Marital Status			
Single	1.23	1.281	265
Married with children	0.93	1.135	169
Married with no children	0.83	1.150	35
Other	1.72	1.222	29
Total	1.13	1.236	498
Statement 46: Arabic poetry and stories are closer to my heart than those of Hebrew ones			
	Mean	SD	N
Single	0.93	1.175	256
Married with children	0.76	1.058	170
Married with no children	1.14	1.240	35
Other	1.31	1.137	29
Total	0.91	1.144	490

2.3.4.4.2 Marital Status Effect on Group Five: Contextual Factors and Language Attitudes

Responses to statements about the use of Hebrew rather than Arabic with regard to feelings and emotions received mean scores on the lower side of average scores, meaning that the participants are not completely certain about the effectiveness of Arabic as the only tool to express their feelings and emotions. On the other hand, replacing Arabic with

Hebrew as the medium of instruction received higher mean scores than the average, which means that replacing Arabic with Hebrew was rejected across all marital status groups, especially among those who are married with children. These scores suggest that the participants agreed with keeping Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools.

Looking at the differences between the marital status groups, the statistical tests suggest that for statement 25: *Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic,* and statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools,* the various marital status groups hold different opinions on these issues.

ANOVA tests performed on the above five statements showed statistically significant differences across marital status for statement 25: *Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic* ($F(3,429)=2.839$, $p=0.038$) and statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools,* ($F(3,481)=4.781$, $p=0.003$). Tukey tests revealed a significant difference for statement 25 for those who reported "other" and those who gave their status as "married with children" ($p=0.02$). Examination of the descriptive statistics analysis (see Table 2.24) reveals that participants who reported "other" as their marital status ($M=1.97$, $SD=1.500$) agreed slightly with the statement that feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic, while those who reported being "married with children" ($M=2.72$, $SD=1.234$) disagreed with statement 25.

In statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools*, significant differences were found between the group "married with children" and two other groups, "single" (p=0.009) and "other" (p=0.019). Participants who described themselves as "married with children" (M=3.46, SD=0.925) strongly disagreed with the idea of replacing Arabic with Hebrew as a medium of instruction in Druze schools. The groups "single" (M=3.11, SD=1.224) and "other" (M=2.79, SD=1.346) tended to disagree less strongly with statement 43, as Table 2.24 shows:

Table 2.24: Descriptive statistics: Statements 25 and 43 across marital status

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 25: Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic			
Marital Status			
Single	2.60	1.352	248
Married with children	2.72	1.234	166
Married with no children	2.60	1.333	35
Other	1.97	1.500	29
Total	2.61	1.327	478
Statement 43: I would prefer it if Hebrew would replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools			
Single	3.11	1.224	248
Married with children	3.46	0.925	166
Married with no children	3.29	1.126	35
Other	2.79	1.346	29
Total	3.22	1.143	478

2.3.4.4.3 Marital Status Effect on Group Nine: Language Accommodation and Language Attitudes

With respect to the influence of the marital status variable on language accommodation and language attitude, differences were found between “singles” and married with “children” groups. Tukey tests identified statistical differences in responses

for statement 58: *When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the 'correct' pronunciation without an evidence of an Arabic accent,* between "singles" and those who identified as "married with children" ($p<0.001$). Comparing the mean scores of the marital status groups (see Table 2.25) reveals that those who reported being "married with children" (M=2.50, SD=1.206) tended to be more careful than others of choosing the "correct" pronunciation when they speak Hebrew. Those who were "single" (M=1.93, SD=1.381) indicated that they are somewhat more careful than others of choosing the "correct" pronunciation when they speak Hebrew:

Table 2.25: Descriptive statistics: Statement 58 across marital status groups

	Mean	SD	N
58) When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the 'correct' pronunciation without an evidence of an Arabic accent			
Marital Status			
Single	1.93	1.381	252
Married with children	2.50	1.206	169
Married with no children	2.23	1.374	35
Other	1.97	1.295	29
Total	2.15	1.339	485

2.3.4.4.4 Marital Status Effect on Group Ten: Attitudes toward Druze Interest in Hebrew

With regard to participant attitude toward Druze interest in Hebrew, statistical significance was found only in statement 35: *Druze in Israel are more interested in*

Hebrew than Arabic across marital status (F(3,489)=5.761, p=0.001). Follow-up Tukey testing indicated that "single" participants were found to be statistically significant with the "married with children" group (p=0.001). Singles (M=1.26, SD=1.100) agreed more strongly than those who are married with children (M=1.69, SD=1.248) that the Druze are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic:

Table 2.26: Descriptive statistics: Statement 35 across marital status groups

	Mean	SD	N
Marital Status			
Single	1.26	1.100	258
Married with children	1.69	1.248	171
Married with no children	1.26	1.172	35
Other	1.10	1.012	29
Total	1.40	1.171	493

2.3.4.5. Residence of the Participants Factor

Although Druze live in different language contact environments, the results of the survey did not yield significant differences between participants from different locations. Of all the attitudes examined here, residence of the participants seems to affect only the importance of Arabic language as a means of communication with the Arab world.

2.3.4.5.1 Residence Effect on Group Six: Cultural Milieu and Language Attitudes

Overall, Druze from different locations recognize the importance of communicating with the Arab world. The factor of residence was found to impact only statement 20: *The Arabic language is important in communicating with the Arab World*. Significant differences were found between Druze who reside in mixed Druze-Arab towns with a Druze majority (M=0.46, SD=0.639) and Druze towns with a high degree of contact with the Jewish community (M=0.89, SD=1.090). Those participants who reside in Druze towns with a high degree of contact with the Jewish community reported slightly less agreement with statement 20 than other groups (see table 2.27). It is expected to receive such results from Druze towns with a high level of contact with Jewish Israelis as these results are consistent with the proposed expectations that the Druze residents of these towns may express more positive attitudes toward Israelis, Hebrew and the Israeli culture than toward Arabic and the culture it represents:

Table 2.27: Descriptive statistics: Statement 20 across location

	N	Mean	SD
Statement 20: The Arabic language is important in communicating with the Arab World			
Education			
Druze towns: less contact with both communities	231	0.82	1.047
Mixed Druze Arab towns : Druze Majority	65	0.46	0.639
Mixed Druze Arab towns: Druze Minority	73	0.74	0.986
Druze towns: High level of contact with Jewish community	126	0.89	1.090
Total	495	0.78	1.012

2.3.4.6 Military Service Factor

The goal of this section is to show how service in the military correlates with language attitude. The results show that that the group of participants who did not enlist in the army due to their ideological beliefs differ in their opinions from the other military service groups. This group consistently favored Arabic over Hebrew in every aspect as we can see in the following sections:

2.3.4.6.1 Military Service Effect on Group Four: Attitudes toward Hebrew Proficiency

Responses to the group of questions related to Hebrew proficiency indicate that participants who did not join the military due to ideological beliefs differ remarkably in their responses when compared with other participants. When asked about their general

attitude toward Hebrew proficiency, this group was less positive than other groups, especially those who did not join the military due to the age requirement, yet when they were asked about specific related issues, such as their children's proficiency in Hebrew or that of Druze females, those who did not join the military due to age requirements showed a slightly more positive attitude toward these topics. These findings actually match previous results regarding the younger age group and its positive attitude toward Hebrew.

A series of ANOVAs were conducted to determine significant differences between the military service variable and statements 14: *Being fluent in Hebrew means a lot to me*, 40: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency*, 47: *I will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any other language* and 51: *When I hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud*. Statistically significant differences were found across military service groups for statement14 ($F(6,426)=2.83$, $p=0.01$), statement 40 ($F(6,421)=1.265$, $p=0.014$), statement 47 ($F(6,416)=3.127$, $p=0.005$) and statement 51 ($F(6,413)=2.9$, $P=0.009$). The findings also suggest that those who "didn't join the army due to ideological beliefs" have a less positive attitude toward Hebrew than toward Arabic. Their responses to statement 14: *Being fluent in Hebrew means a lot to me*, suggest that this group is not completely in favor of having Hebrew as a part of its linguistic identity. A Tukey test revealed that there was a significant difference between those who "completed their military service", and those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" ($p=0.03$). The mean

scores for those who completed their military service (M=0.52, SD=0.862) were the lowest scores, and there is only a slight difference between this group and those who did not join the army due to being under the required age (M=0.53, SD=0.730). Those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" (M= 1.22, SD=1.155) agreed less than others with statement 14.

Table 2.18: Descriptive statistics: Statement 14 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 14: Being fluent in Hebrew means a lot to me			
Military service			
Currently in the army	0.58	0.830	33
I completed my military service	0.52	0.862	131
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	0.61	0.698	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	0.53	0.730	30
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	0.67	0.880	132
I did not join the army due to other reasons	0.77	1.130	43
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	1.22	1.155	27
Total	0.65	.913	414

Responses to statement 40: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency,* differ across military service as Tukey tests indicated. Significant differences were found between those who did not join the army due to the age requirements, and those who joined the army but did not complete their service (p=0.048), as well as with those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" (p=0.043). Those who have not yet joined the army responded that they feel more proud when they receive a compliment about their Hebrew proficiency (M=0.97, SD=0.928), than those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" (M=1.81, SD=1.039), or those who "did not join the army due to other reasons" (M=1.89, SD=1.323):

Table 2.19: Descriptive statistics: Statement 40 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Military service			
Currently in the army	1.52	1.202	33
I completed my military service	1.46	1.152	131
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	1.89	1.323	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	0.97	0.928	30
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	1.30	1.131	132
I did not join the army due to other reasons	1.51	1.032	43
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	1.81	1.039	27
Total	1.42	1.134	414

In analyzing the responses to statement 47: *I will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any other language,* a Tukey test revealed a difference between participants who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" and those who "did not join the army due to other reasons" (p=0.001). A significant difference was also found between those who "did not join the army due to other reasons" and with those who "did not join the army due to religious beliefs" (p=0.045). Those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs", disagreed (M=3.11, SD=1.086) with statement 47: I *will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any other language,* while those who "did not join the army due to religious beliefs" (M= 2.55, SD=1.238) expressed slight disagreement with statement 47. Those who "did not join the army due to other reasons" (M=1.91, SD=1.288) are the only participants who somewhat agreed with statement 47:

Table 2.30: Descriptive statistics: Statement 47 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 47: I will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any other language			
Military service			
Currently in the army	2.61	1.298	33
I completed my military service	2.45	1.198	131
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.44	1.042	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	2.27	1.230	30
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	2.55	1.238	132
I did not join the army due to other reasons	1.91	1.288	43
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	3.11	1.086	27
Total	2.47	1.236	414

The military service variable was also statistically significant in statement 51: *When I hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud*, yet Tukey testing did not indicate any statistically significant differences between the groups of military service in statement 51. On examining the results of the descriptive statistics however (see Table 2.31), participants who did not join the army due to being under the required age (under 18 years) were the only group who indicated that they were slightly proud to hear a young Druze woman who is proficient in Hebrew (M=1.97, SD=1.299); all other groups disagreed with statement 51. These results affirm previous results that showed

that young people aged between 13-17.5 years old, hold more positive attitudes toward Hebrew and the non-local identity that Hebrew represents than do other age groups.

Table 2.31: Descriptive statistics: Statement 51 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 51: When I hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud			
Military service			
Currently in the army	2.79	1.166	33
I completed my military service	2.11	1.273	131
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.50	1.295	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	1.97	1.299	30
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	2.05	1.262	132
I did not join the army due to other reasons	2.09	1.130	43
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	2.74	1.130	27
Total	2.19	1.258	414

2.3.4.6.2 Military Service Effect on Group Five: Contextual Factors and Language Attitudes

Responses to political, emotional and instruction domains in conjunction with language attitudes seem to reveal differences between those participants who did not join the army due to ideological beliefs and other military service groups.

A series of ANOVAs was conducted to determine whether or not the groups of military service significantly differed in various contextual factors and language attitudes. ANOVA tests yielded the finding that, when examined separately, there were significant

differences across military service groups in responses to all five statements: In statement 19: *I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic* ($F(6,427)=4.823$, $p<0.001$), in statement 24: *Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic,* ($F(96,426)=4.198$, $p<0.001$), in statement 25: *Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*, ($F(6,424)=3.088$, $p=0.006$), in statement 33: *I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry*, ($F(6,419)=4.719$, $p<0.001$) and in statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools,* ($F(6,413)=2.353$, $p=0.03$).

Follow-up Tukey tests were performed to determine the differences between the groups of military service for each statement. In statement 19: *I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic*, significant differences were found between the group of participants who did not join the army due to their ideological beliefs and four other groups: "currently in the army" ($p=0.009$),"completed my military service" ($p<0.001$), "did not join the army due to religious beliefs" ($p=0.003$) and "did not join the army due to other reasons" ($p=0.001$). Those whose ideological beliefs kept them from joining the army had the highest mean scores ($M= 2.54$, $SD=1.374$) which means that they disagreed slightly with statement 19, while participants who completed their military service ($M=1.23$, $SD=1.212$), those who reported that they are currently in the army ($M=1.32$, $SD=1.319$) , and those who "did not join the army due to other reasons"

(M=1.30, SD=1.153) agreed that they can express certain things in Hebrew better than Arabic:

Table 2.32: Descriptive statistics: Statement 19 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 19: I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic			
Military service			
Currently in the army	1.32	1.319	34
I completed my military service	1.23	1.212	133
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.17	1.425	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	1.66	1.471	29
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	1.51	1.381	129
I did not join the army due to other reasons	1.30	1.153	44
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	2.54	1.374	28
Total	1.49	1.346	415

The military service factor significantly influences language usage in the context of politics. In particular, the attitudes of those who did not join the army due to age or due to ideological beliefs differed from those of other military service groups.

For statement 24: *Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*, Tukey tests indicated significant differences between participants who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" and three other groups: those who are "currently in the army" (p=0.002), those who reported having completed their military service

(p=0.001) and those who reported being under the required age for military service (p=0.007). Based on the mean scores (see Table 2.33), the participants who reported that they did not join the military due to their ideological beliefs (M=2.82, SD=1.307) expressed greater disagreement with statement 24, meaning that they disagreed that political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic. The other three groups: those who are currently in the army (M=1.53, SD=1.261), those who did not join because they were under the required age (M=1.69, SD=1.168) and those who had completed their military service (M=1.74, SD=1.348) somewhat agreed with statement 24:

Table 2.33: Descriptive statistics: statement 24 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 24: Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic			
Military service			
Currently in the army	1.53	1.261	34
I completed my military service	1.74	1.348	133
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.28	1.320	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	1.69	1.168	29
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	2.10	1.280	129
I did not join the army due to other reasons	1.91	1.178	44
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	2.82	1.307	28
Total	1.94	1.315	415

Regarding the question of expressing emotion, differences were found across military service groups particularly between those who did not join the army due ideological beliefs and other groups.

Tukey results for statement 25: *Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*, showed that the group consisting of those who did not join the army due to ideological beliefs significantly differed from three other groups in their responses to statement 25: those who completed their service (p=0.007), those who joined the army but did not complete their term (p=0.002) and those who did not join the army due to their religious beliefs (p=0.044). The mean scores (see Table 2.34) indicate that the difference between those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" and the other three groups. The other three groups tended to disagree with the statement that Hebrew is more effective than Arabic in expressing feelings and emotions, yet the participants who reported not joining the army due to their ideological beliefs strongly disagreed with the statement (M=3.43, SD=0.997:

Table 2.34: Descriptive statistics: Statement 25 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 25: Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic			
Military service			
Currently in the army	2.59	1.395	34
I completed my military service	2.49	1.277	133
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.94	1.349	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	2.21	1.373	29
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	2.59	1.367	129
I did not join the army due to other reasons	2.61	1.205	44
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	3.43	.997	28
Total	2.60	1.318	415

With regard to statement 33: *I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry,* and 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools,* there were significant differences across military service groups. There were statistically significant differences ($p<0.05$) in responses to statement 33 between those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" in comparison to all other groups (except those who joined the army but did not complete their terms). For statement 43, significant differences in responses were found only between those who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" and those who were "currently in the army" ($p=0.03$).

The responses to statement 33 were mixed; participants who reported not joining the army due to ideological beliefs (M=3.25, SD=1.236) were consistent, meaning that they strongly disagreed with replacing Arabic with Hebrew as a medium of instruction of science subjects. The groups made up of those who are currently in the army (M=1.76, SD=1,437), those who had completed their military service (M=1.92, SD=1.357) and those who had not yet joined the army (M=1.59, SD=1.452) agreed with statement 33: *I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry*.

The participants' opinions are more cohesive on the issue of replacing Arabic in schools, with participants across all groups of military service disagreeing with statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools*. Participants who were "currently in the army" (M=2.97, SD=1.291) disagreed with the statement, but less strongly. Those who reported that they "did not join the military service due to ideological beliefs" (M=3.86, SD=1.140) disagreed to a greater extent with statement 43:

Table 2.35: Descriptive statistics: Statements 33, 43 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 33: I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry			
Military service			
Currently in the army	1.76	1.437	34
I completed my military service	1.92	1.357	133
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.44	1.423	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	1.59	1.452	29
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	2.15	1.526	129
I did not join the army due to other reasons	2.20	1.503	44
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	3.25	1.236	28
Total	2.10	1.472	415
Statement 43: I would prefer it if Hebrew would replace Arabic medium of instruction in Druze schools			
Currently in the army	2.97	1.291	34
I completed my military service	3.19	1.162	133
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	3.61	0.608	18
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	3.07	1.280	29
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	3.22	1.147	129
I did not join the army due to other reasons	3.14	1.212	44
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	3.86	0.356	28
Total	3.23	1.140	415

2.3.4.6.3 Military Service Effect on Group Seven: Instrumental Motives and Language Attitudes

The questionnaire included questions designed to examine the instrumental attitudinal motives toward both languages. Military service appears to affect how Druze perceive the pragmatic gains of learning and mastering Hebrew, as reflected in the results of MANOVA tests (see Appendix E, Table VI).

Two statements focus on instrumental attitudinal motives toward Hebrew, statement 48: I *would have preferred to have my children study in a Hebrew high school to prepare them better for university*, and statement 49: Being *as fluent in Hebrew as its native speakers will open more job opportunities for me*. However, an ANOVA determined there were differences only in responses to statement 48 across the military service groups ($F(6,415)=3.782$, $p=.001$). Follow-up Tukey tests and descriptive statistics analysis (see Table 2.36) show that participants who completed their military service ($M=1.98$, $SD=1.398$) significantly differed from those who did not join the army due to their religious beliefs ($M=2.5$, $SD=1.346$, $p=0.048$) and from those who did not join the army due to ideological beliefs ($M=3.11$, $SD=1.133$, $p=0.003$):

Table 2.36 Descriptive statistics: Statement 48 across military service groups

	Mean	SD	N
Statement 48: I would have preferred my children study in a Hebrew high school to prepare them better for university			
Military service			
Currently in the army	2.21	1.666	34
I completed my military service	1.98	1.398	133
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.84	1.344	19
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	2.10	1.348	30
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	2.50	1.346	133
I did not join the army due to other reasons	2.19	1.419	43
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	3.11	1.133	28
Total	2.31	1.414	420

Those who completed their military service reported believing to some extent that learning in Hebrew schools might improve their children's future academic achievements. Participants who did not join the army due to religious beliefs disagreed with this statement to a slight extent, and those whose ideological beliefs kept them from military service disagreed significantly with statement 48: I *would have preferred to have my children study in a Hebrew high school to prepare them better for university*. It is likely that these two groups believe that direct contact with native Hebrew speakers and the Jewish Israeli culture may generate cultural and identity challenges for their children.

The questionnaire included only one statement that tested the instrumental attitudinal motives toward Arabic, statement 57: *Mastering the Arabic language will improve my accomplishments*. An ANOVA test was significant for military service (F(6,416)=3.402, p=0.003); however Tukey tests did not indicate any significant differences between the various military service groups. Examination of the difference in mean scores (see Table 2.37) of the military service groups shows that those who reported not joining the army for ideological reasons (M=0.75, SD=0.928) differed from those who completed their military service (M=1.72, SD=1.242), and those who had other reasons for not joining the military (M=1.72, SD=1.221). However, these differences were not statistically significant.

Table 2.37: Descriptive statistics: Statement 57 across military service groups

	N	Mean	SD
Statement 59: Mastering the Arabic language will improve my accomplishments			
Military service			
Currently in the army	34	1.62	1.206
I completed my military service	134	1.72	1.242
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	19	1.26	1.098
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	30	1.23	1.040
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	135	1.44	1.176
I did not join the army due to other reasons	43	1.72	1.221
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	28	.75	.928
Total	423	1.50	1.198

Participants who did not join the army due to their ideological beliefs reported that they strongly believe that mastering Arabic will improve their accomplishments, while those who completed their service and those who did not join due to other reasons reported that their belief was less strong that Arabic would help them succeed. Looking at the findings of both statement 48: *I would have preferred to have my children study in a Hebrew high school to prepare them better for university,* and statement 57: *Mastering the Arabic language will improve my accomplishments,* it seems that those who did not join the army due to ideological beliefs anticipate more potential gains in mastering Arabic than in being fluent in Hebrew.

2.3.4.6.4 Military Service Effect on Group Eight: Identity Factors and Language Attitudes

The only statement incorporated into the questionnaire to investigate the Druze perception of the relationship between Arabic and Palestinian identity is statement 55: *Since Druze in Israel speak the Palestinian dialect, they are considered Palestinians*. In this statement, response number five, *The Palestinian dialect has nothing to do with my identity,* was excluded from the statistical test. A one-way ANOVA test found that there were statistically significant differences in responses for statement 55 by military service ($F(6,283)=4.394$, $p<.0001$). Tukey tests and descriptive statistics analysis (see Table 2.38) indicate that participants who "did not join the army due to ideological beliefs" ($M=1.32$, $SD=1.282$), perceived the relationship between the Palestinian dialect and

Palestinian identity much more positively than those who currently serve in the army (M=2.74, SD=1.573, p=0.004), those who completed their military service (M=2.54, SD=1.343 , p=0.001), those who did not join the army due to religious beliefs (M=2.33. SD=1.245, p=0.016) and those who did not join the army due to other reasons (M=2.97, SD=1.295, p<0.001).

Table 2.38: Descriptive statistics: Statement 55 across military service groups

	N	Mean	SD
Statement 55: Since Druze in Israel speak the Palestinian dialect, they are considered Palestinians			
Military service			
Currently in the army	23	2.74	1.573
I completed my military service	108	2.54	1.343
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	12	2.00	1.414
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	15	2.27	1.033
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	78	2.33	1.245
I did not join the army due to other reasons	29	2.97	1.295
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	25	1.32	1.282
Total	290	2.40	1.361

2.3.4.6.5 Military Service Effect on Group Ten: Attitudes toward Druze Interest in Hebrew

Military service appears to influence the attitudes toward Druze interest in Hebrew in varying ways. There were statistically significant differences across military service for statement 35, as indicated by an ANOVA test ($F(6,420)=4.913$, $p<0.001$). To determine the differences between groups, Tukey tests revealed that those who identified themselves as currently in the army were found to be statistically significant with those who completed their service ($p=0.003$), and with those who joined the army but did not complete their term ($p=0.003$). Statistical significance was found between those who did not join the army due to being under age, those who completed their military service ($p=0.016$) and those who joined the army but did not complete their term ($p<0.001$).

Mean scores (see Table 2.39 indicate that those who did not join the army due to their age ($M=0.90$, $SD=0.995$) agreed most with statement 35: *The Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic*, those currently in the army ($M=1.09$, $SD=1.026$) agreed slightly less with statement 35. Those who completed their military service ($M=1.66$, $SD=1.219$) were less likely to agree with statement 35 and those who joined but did not complete their term ($M=2.32$, $SD=1.25$) disagreed slightly with statement 35:

Table 2.39: Descriptive statistics: Statement 35 across military service

	Mean	SD	N
Military service			
Currently in the army	1.09	1.026	34
I completed my military service	1.66	1.219	136
I joined the army but I did not complete my term	2.32	1.250	19
I have not joined the army since I am under the required age	0.90	0.995	30
I did not join the army due to religious beliefs	1.29	1.050	135
I did not join the army due to other reasons	1.47	1.160	45
I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs	1.32	1.188	28
Total	1.43	1.162	427

2.4 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter, factors influencing attitudes toward Arabic and Hebrew among the Druze in Israel were examined understanding to what extent language attitudes are in flux. The findings of this chapter suggest four factors—age, gender, level of education and military service—directly affect attitudes toward Arabic and Hebrew.

Since it is in the nature of language itself to carry symbolic qualities, such as cultural, ethnic and national qualities and serve to refer to something other than itself (Fishman 1977), it is not surprising to find that language attitudes among the Druze in Israel were associated with these qualities, particularly among younger people, females and those who refused to serve in the army due ideological beliefs.

Younger Druze express a more positive attitude toward Hebrew and its cultural associations. This positive attitude is extended toward Hebrew in general, and in particular to contexts of linguistic use and behavior of Hebrew, such as Hebrew proficiency, Hebrew speakers and accommodating Hebrew speakers whether for instrumental or integrative motivations (Abu-Rabia 1996). These results affirm that teenagers express a more positive attitude toward the dominant language and its culture (Fink 2002; Holmes 1992).

Female Druze participants expressed a more positive attitude toward Hebrew proficiency and were more interested in Hebrew than in Arabic. But, married participants were more positive toward Arabic than Hebrew. In addition, they reacted negatively to the connection between their first language and Palestinian national identity. The attitude toward Arabic and Hebrew of the Druze females symbolizes a choice between two competing social forces, tradition that represents the Druze community versus modernization that represents Jewish-Israeli society. These findings therefore are consistent with other language-gender studies affirming that women respond less favorably than men to languages of lower status (Labov 1990; Brouwer 1987; Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977), and that their identification with language may give them greater opportunities for social mobility (Gal 1978)

Level of education also affected Druze's language attitudes. The studies in this field suggest two trends, one is that the high level of education may positively affect the attitude toward the dominant language, and the other is that it may actually help in

maintaining the minority language (De Klerk 2000; Putz 1991; Fishman 1989; Wen Lang Li 1982). This study supports the claim that those with a higher level of education hold a less favorable general attitude to the dominant language, Hebrew, while those with a lower level of education are more likely to favor Hebrew in general as well as Hebrew proficiency, and express greater instrumental attitudinal motivations toward Hebrew. The findings also suggest that those with high levels of education are less favorable to Arabic entertainment, while those with lower levels of education are more in favor of Arabic entertainment than those participants with higher levels of education. These results contradict the other findings related to education factor. The less favorable attitude toward Arabic entertainment of those with high levels of education is probably an attempt to distance themselves from the popular culture that is usually associated with low prestige.

With regard to the military service factor, the factor that distinguishes the Israeli situation, the findings reveal that those who did not join the army due to ideological beliefs express positive attitudes toward Arabic in general, Arabic proficiency and the use of Arabic, while at the same time they expressed a negative attitude toward Hebrew in general, Hebrew proficiency and instrumental attitudinal motivations to Hebrew. This group's attitudes were also consistent with the cultural, ethnic and national associations of language. Arabic and its relation to Arab and Palestinian identities was significant to this group while Hebrew and its relation to Israeli cultural identity was not significant to this group. One may conclude that this group's choice of language and language

behavior are central to their social and national identity and how they define themselves in relation to the social, cultural and political contexts surrounding them.

The results of this study provide insight into the factors that influence both language maintenance and language attitude among the Druze in Israel. These results will aid us in understanding the general linguistic reality of the Druze in Israel. Yet these results are not sufficient to determine whether Arabic is well maintained by the Druze in Israel.

Despite the fact that we cannot determine from these findings whether or not Arabic, the first language of the Palestinians, is in danger of losing its status as the first language, the findings suggest that three major populations,[29] younger Druze, those with lower levels of education, and females, groups who are reported in the literature to be significant in the process of language shift, were found to express significantly positive attitudes toward the majority language, Hebrew. These three populations may set the stage for future language shift. This shift is likely to be expedited by the adoption of modern values that are a result of intensive exposure to Israeli culture and the pursuit of professional careers that require a higher level of education.

It is difficult to predict whether these three populations will continue to hold their current attitudes and pass them on to the next generation, particularly since people tend to change their language attitudes as a result of changes in the status of the language and its

[29] According to Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics from 2009, 50%of the Druze are under the age 24.8 year old; 31.2% of the total Druze population in Israel are between 0 to 14 year old. With regard to education, 11.5% of the total Druze community with no formal education, 34.2% of the total with elementary-middle school education, and only 14.5% hold higher education degree. See: Central Bureau of Statistics, special report announced to the public in April 26, 2011: http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf. Date of access August 20, 2011.

supporting conditions. Changes in an individual's personal status can also affect his or her language attitude as the differences between married and unmarried participants in this study have shown. Therefore, a future longitudinal study may reveal a better understanding of whether Arabic will continue to be maintained or a shift to Hebrew will occur among the Druze in Israel.

Finally, this chapter indicates that the survey results are most useful not in the conclusive answers they give us, but in the fact that they help us to identify specific areas for future research, one being the attitudes toward proficiency in Modern Standard Arabic and its use.

CHAPTER THREE

Druze Linguistic Landscape

3.1 Introduction

The study of Linguistic Landscape (henceforth LL) is a relatively recent field of inquiry, but one that has grown significantly throughout the last decade. Landry and Bourhis (1997) were the first to use the term Linguistic Landscape, and their research has been extremely influential in this area of study. The term LL refers to the language of the objects that mark a public space, and is made up of two different types of language representations: *official* and *non-official*. Shohamy (2006), in her study on language in the public space, argues that the marks of public linguistic space speak to us on two levels, one being informative and the other symbolic. The signs are informative in that they indicate the languages used in a specific territory, however they also function as symbols used to convey messages regarding the importance, power, significance and relevance of particular languages and the people they represent (2006:110).

This chapter examines the linguistic space marks on private and public written signs in Druze towns in Israel. The goal of this chapter is twofold, first, to explore the presence of the two major official languages of Israel, Hebrew and Arabic in the Druze LL with regard to their relative de facto status; and secondly, to investigate the internal differences in the Druze LLs regarding the relevance and significance of Arabic and Hebrew among the Druze in Israel.

The literature on LL makes a distinction between official and non-official language representations in terms of what comprises the two types. Official LL representations include "top-down" LL items such as road signs, signs on government buildings, street names and public announcements that are produced and posted by the central government, whereas non-official linguistic representations include "bottom-up" LL items such as shop signs, private commercial signs and private announcements that are produced by local individuals (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 14; Backhaus 2006: 54).

One of the possible readings of the top-down representations, other than the informational role that they play, is that they are actually linguistic markers that symbolize the status and power of the represented languages, and may reflect the *overt* and *covert* language policies of a given state (Ben-Rafael, et al 2006: 8; Shohamy 2006: 111). Different readings may apply to bottom-up representations, one being that these representations reveal the extent of the penetration of multilingualism in a community and its impact on the linguistic behavior of the local citizens. The way in which actors choose and display the language of their signs is an indication of how they "situate themselves in relationship to others, the way they group themselves, the powers they claim for themselves and the powers they stipulate to others" (Lippi-Green 1997:31). To put it simply, the actors' choice of language in their signs reflects their social allegiances. Another reading is that the actors who display the signs are responding in a rational manner to their potential clients' needs, desires and preferences (Ben-Rafael, et al 2006) and are intentionally converting the *linguistic capital* of these representations into

economic capital (Bourdieu and Boltanski 1977: 61-69). The findings of this study will suggest that Druze LLs reflect the extent to which multilingualism in the Druze community not only affects the language behavior of the population, but also causes the actors to respond in specific ways to the linguistic market dynamic brought about by local and outside economies.

Bourdieu (1991) uses the metaphor of *market* to explain the relationship between speech itself and the social context in which it takes place. He argues that in a given linguistic market, one language may not be of equal value to another, meaning that each one has a different *capital* and *symbolic power* in the *linguistic market* (1991: 38-39). A set of learned behaviors (habitus in Bourdieu's terminology) provides individuals with a sense of how to act and how to respond in different markets. In linguistic terms, an individual may learn how to use a certain language in a certain market based on their knowledge and expectations of the capital of the language in that market. In other words, the language competence of an individual is tied to the linguistic market as well as his ability to use language that is suited to that market. In general the language that is directly tied to the policies of the state, obligatory in all official communications, and used within all official spheres, is the dominant language, or what Bourdieu refers to as the legitimate language, and is the one to which all other linguistic practices are compared (Bourdieu 1991: 45). Therefore, the legitimate language is more likely to dominate in official settings and agencies as well as in official place names, and road and commercial signs in a bilingual community.

Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) conducted a comparative study in Israel to investigate the influence of language policy on the LL by examining public signs in three different communities in Israel: a Jewish community, a Palestinian-Israeli community and a Palestinian community in East Jerusalem. The study confirms that Bourdieu's perspective helps explain why in that Hebrew, the language of the majority and the one that dominates the national market, has a strong presence within both the Jewish and Palestinian-Israeli communities, but not in the Palestinian community in East Jerusalem (Ben Rafael et al. 2006: 24). Arabic is scarcely represented in either bottom-up or top-down LL items in the Jewish community. Ben-Rafael et al. argue that these findings are paradoxical, since the Palestinian-Israeli community is expected to resist the Hebrew language. The ongoing tension between the Jewish majority and their Arab and Palestinian neighbors, with whom Palestinian-Israelis share both language and culture, would seem to make Hebrew an unlikely choice for signage in Palestinian-Israelis communities. One might expect that Palestinian-Israelis would insist on asserting themselves through Arabic language markers. Ben-Rafael et al. believe that the scarcity of Arabic in bottom-up items in the Palestinian-Israeli linguistic space is motivated by economic interests rather than a desire to exhibit identity. They further propose that the bottom-up LL markers in East Jerusalem indicate a visible resistance to Hebrew's predominance and may be viewed as a means of protesting the political annexation of East Jerusalem (2006:25). Ben Rafael et al. argue that the bottom-up LL items of both Palestinian-Israelis and Palestinians from East Jerusalem are compatible with Bourdieu's perspective. The presence of Hebrew in the Palestinian-Israeli bottom-up items can be

explained by the fact that Hebrew is the majority language and dominates the linguistic market of Israel, whereas the resistance to Hebrew in the Palestinian bottom-up items of East Jerusalem is determined by the national conflict between the two nations. One of the effects of this conflict is that the Palestinians of East Jerusalem position themselves as part of the Palestinian people rather than as members of the minority in terms of their relationship with the Jewish-Israeli majority group.

The study of Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) has contributed to a better understanding of the relative power of the two languages, Hebrew and Arabic, in Israel as they were reflected in the Jewish-Israeli LL, Palestinian-Israeli LL and the Palestinian LL of East Jerusalem. However,, the study did not include the Druze LL in its samples. It is important from a research standpoint to address the question of whether or not the findings of Ben-Rafael et al. regarding the Palestinian-Israel LL also apply to the Druze community, because the Druze community has a different relationship with the Israeli government than the majority Palestinian population. Druze leadership has, since 1956, backed Israel in the ongoing conflict with Arabs and Palestinians by agreeing to compulsory enlistment of Druze males in the Israeli army. Moreover, the Druze in Israel have been the subject of an Israeli governmental policy to develop a particular Druze ethnic status and identity (Halabi 2006; Firro 1999; Hajjar 1996).

Nevertheless, the fact that the Druze in Israel are dispersed throughout the Galilee and Mount Carmel area, and experience varying levels of language contact as well as divergent economic relations and expectations, suggests that one cannot expect unanimity

of Druze linguistic market across the different Druze areas. I expect that the linguistic capital of both Arabic and Hebrew in the Druze LLs are variable and determined by the local dynamics of the linguistic markets as well as the national linguistic market. I also anticipate that these representations will vary among the Druze areas, in that Hebrew will be more visible and prominent in the Mount Carmel area than in other Druze communities. In particular, the choice of Hebrew by the Mount Carmel area's actors is likely to be based on economic realities and the power dynamics between the Palestinian and Jewish communities that influence the use of the two languages, Arabic and Hebrew.

To examine the Arabic and Hebrew presence and prominence in the Druze LL, I will first categorize the Druze LL markers into top-down and bottom-up items. The top-down category will include a sample of public language markers such as signs on governmental and municipal institutions and street signs. The bottom-up category will consist primarily of shop signs. In the second step, I will classify the bottom-up LL items into two categories, one labeled as "neighborhood" items and the other identified as "main street" items. The distinction between the language of the signs in the neighborhood and that of the main street items will provide us with information about the economic dynamics that take place in these two sections and answer questions about the unification of the linguistic market in a particular town and some of the social motivations behind the actors' choice of language in their signs.

In order to explore whether or not these linguistic representations exhibit the prominent language, I will examine the bilingual and multilingual signs in both main

streets and neighborhoods according to language prominence factors such as the relative frequency of Arabic and Hebrew in the displayed signs, and the order, placement, size and font type of each language. I expect that Hebrew will dominate the signs of the main streets and shopping centers as a result of economic forces and relatively high presence of Hebrew speaking shoppers, but it would be surprising to find Hebrew dominating the neighborhood signage, since these LL items are meant to attract local Druze customers and clients. The language of the neighborhood signs will thus be crucial to understanding how the Druze communicate with each other in public spaces especially in their socioeconomic community. The linguistic presentations of the neighborhood signs will also provide insight into the local market forces and their links to, and relations with the surrounding markets.

3.2 Data and Coding Methods

To obtain the units of analysis, data was collected from a large sample of Druze towns including Dāliyat al-Carmel, ʻIsifya, Yarka, Julis and Shafaʻ Amer. For comparison purposes, a sample of non-Druze signage was gathered from the non-Druze neighborhoods of the city of Shafaʻ Amer.

The selected towns are situated in three different sociolinguistic environments. The two towns of Dāliyat al-Carmel and ʻIsifya in the Mount Carmel area are connected geographically to Jewish-Israeli centers of the Haifa region, and the Druze of this area maintain a higher intensity of language contact with Hebrew speakers due to their

geographic location. The shopping center of Dāliyat al-Carmel is considered the largest in the Druze community in terms of offering authentic Druze food, clothing and antiques, and attracts a large number of Jewish shoppers and tourists. These two towns will represent the Druze LL of the Carmel area.

Yarka and Julis are both fully Druze towns, located adjacent to one another on the western side of the Galilee Mountains in the lower Galilee area. Yarka's economy and local businesses have grown noticeably in the last decade and it has become a main shopping center for western lower Galilee residents. Yarka's shopping center offers a variety of merchandise at low prices[1]. It is located between the main entrances of the towns of Yarka and Julis and attracts a wide variety of customers including Jewish Israelis and Palestinian Israelis from neighboring towns, and shoppers from the central district of Israel[30]. For this study, the towns of Yarka and Julis will be combined into one category and referred to as the Yarka area.

Shafa'Amer is a Palestinian-Israeli city with a significant Druze minority. Most of the Druze in Shafa'Amer live in separate neighborhoods that are fairly distant from the main streets and the center of the city. Most of the private Druze businesses are located inside of the Druze neighborhoods, but some of the legal and professional services such as law offices, clinics and accounting firms are located off of the main streets of the city. The data from the city of Shafa'Amer was gathered from both Druze and non-Druze

[30] On September, 9 2011 an article was published on The Marker website focusing on the growing interest of the Jewish Israelis in Yarka's shopping center. The article is available at http://www.themarker.com/consumer/1.1446661. Date of Access September, 10 2011.

neighborhoods. The data from the non-Druze areas will be utilized for comparison with the Druze LL in general and in particular with the LL of Druze neighborhoods in Shafa'Amer.

The data was collected by two assistant researchers from the city of Shafa'Amer who were asked to photograph all of the signs of the main streets and neighborhoods of the towns Shafa'Amer, Dāliyat al-Carmel, 'Isifya, Yarka and Julis. Based on the information that I collected from the locals of each town, the streets of each town were classified into main, Druze neighborhood, and non-Druze neighborhood. The assistants were asked to keep a separate record for each town and for each type of street. Between the period of January, 8 and April 29, 2011, a total of 367 signs were collected, of which 157 were from Dāliyat al-Carmel and 'Isifya, 122 from Shafa'Amer, and 88 from Yarka and Julis (see Appendix G, sample of signs).

3.2.1 Coding Methods

Following Franco-Rodriguez (2009) the LL items will each be categorized according to its sponsor, that is, the "actor[31]". 1) Public actors: this category includes governmental signs, municipality space marks, and public institutions and services. 2) Private or individual actors: refers to the signs of locally owned and operated businesses.

[31] There is disagreement in the LL literature regarding the term "actor," and whether it refers to the entity who prints the signs or to the entity who displays them. In this study I will Follow Franco-Rodriguez's (2009) definition of what is. "Actor" is the entity (business, institution or individual) or joined entities that compose the texts.

3. Corporate actors: refers to the signs of corporations and franchises, such as banks, fast food chains, car rental companies, and hardware companies. These types of signs typically do not represent the actor's language preference, but rather are fixed and appear the same in any LL.

According to this categorization, top-down LL items include signs created by public actors and bottom-up LL items include signs created by private and corporate actors.

Private signs such as "Open/Closed" or "Air conditioning" that are ready ordered, and moving texts, as in vehicle advertisings, were excluded from the analysis since the content of these sign is related to an external actor who has decided the language of the sign and made it available to the public. The following sign, written in Hebrew and Arabic, prohibits parking in the entrance of a private area and is an example of a borrowed private sign:

Figure 3.1 Borrowed private sign: "Parking is prohibited at the entrance"

3.2.2 The Language Prominence of the Sign

In general the signs were classified into three different language displays: (a) monolingual signs, in which one language appears on the sign, Arabic, Hebrew, or English; (b) bilingual signs featuring any combination of two languages, such as Arabic-Hebrew, Arabic-English, or Hebrew-English; and (c) multilingual signs featuring such combinations as Arabic-Hebrew-English or Arabic-Hebrew-English-Russian.

To determine the language prominence or the code preference in the bilingual and multilingual signs, two operational questions will guide my analysis:

1. What is the relative frequency of Arabic and Hebrew as both are displayed in the Druze linguistic landscape?
2. What do the bilingual and multilingual representations look like in the Druze LL items in terms of order, placement, size, and type of font of the involved languages?

Franco-Rodriguez (2009) argues that the actors are part of the community and therefore know which language code will better convey their messages, therefore the text itself and the way it is placed on the sign reflect not only the actor's language preference but also that of the general public. Text placement by public actors on official signs also provides insight as to the institutional recognition of the involved languages and their prominence (Landry and Bourhis 1997). For these reasons I will adopt the methodology offered by Scollon and Scollon (2003) and Cenoz and Gorter (2006) to determine the prominent language in each of the signs:

3.2.3 Order of the Codes

If the two codes, Arabic and Hebrew, have the same size font, and are placed vertically, then the prominent code is assumed to be the one on the top (Scollon and Scollon 2003: 120) If the codes are placed horizontally, the prominent code is assumed to be the one on the right since both Arabic and Hebrew are written from right to left.

Figure 3.2 Text placement and code preference

A. Vertical order: Hebrew, English, Arabic B. Horizontal order: Arabic, Hebrew

Sign A in Figure 3.2 is an example of vertical order involving three languages Hebrew, English and Arabic. Hebrew is the most prominent of the three since it is on top, and in this particular sign, English is preferred over Arabic.

In sign B the order is horizontal, and Arabic is first from the right followed by Hebrew, therefore Arabic is the preferred choice in this sign.

3.2.4 Font Size and Order vs. Amount of Text

The preferred code on a sign is the one printed in a larger font or other distinctive feature such as color or highlighting. The use of a relatively large amount of text in one of the codes offsets the font size and placement of the other code in the sign (see Cenoz and Gorter 2006).

Figure 3.3 Preferred code with a larger amount of text and distinct font

A. Larger amount of Hebrew text B. Arabic with a distinctive feature in the center

Although English is featured at the top of both signs in Figure 3.3, Hebrew is the prominent choice in sign A because of the larger amount of Hebrew text on sign A. Arabic is second in order on sign B, but is more prominent due to the fact that it is the only text on the sign that is circled and features an image of book.

3.3 Results and Analysis

Within the four areas of the survey, Dāliyat al-Carmel-Isifya, Yarka-Julis, Druze locations in Shafa‘Amer and non-Druze locations in Shafa‘Amer, a total of 367 signs were analyzed, of which 282 (76.84%) were signs from Druze areas. Eighty-five (23.16%) of the signs were from non-Druze locations in Shafa‘Amer. In examining this data, I will first compare the overall results obtained from both the Druze LL and the non-Druze LL in the city of Shafa‘Amer regarding the presence and prominence of Hebrew, Arabic and English in the signs, combining public and private as well as top-down and bottom-up data. In the second step I will look at the presence and prominence of the three languages in signs found in the four areas, Dāliyat al-Carmel and ‘Isifya area, Yarka and Julis area, Shafa‘Amer’s Druze neighborhoods, and Shafa‘Amer’s non-Druze neighborhoods, also including both top-down and bottom-up. In step three I will examine the differences between main street LL items and neighborhood LL items, and finally I will compare the results between the top-down LL items and bottom-up LL items.

3.3.1 Overall Language Presence and Prominence: Druze LL versus Non-Druze LL

In the Druze areas, 162 monolingual items (57.45%), and 120 bilingual or multilingual items (42.55%) were found. In other words, there were only about 15% more monolingual items than bi- or multilingual ones. In the Druze LL data, Hebrew appeared as the only language in the signs (henceforth Hebrew-only) in 45.74% of the Druze signs, while Arabic appeared as the only language (henceforth Arabic-only) on 9.22% of the

signs. This data is examined overall, without regard for distinctions of the location or authorship of the signs and is broken down in the following Table:

Table 3.1 LL Items of Druze and Non-Druze Sectors (% and no. of items)

	Sector		**Grand Total two sectors**
	Druze	**Non-Druze**	
Monolingual items	**57.45 (n=162)**	**35.29 (n=30)**	**52.32 (n=192)**
Arabic	9.22 (n=26)	10.59 (n=9)	9.54 (n=35)
English	2.48 (n=7)	0.00 (n=0)	1.91 (n=7)
Hebrew	45.74 (n=129)	24.71 (n=21)	40.87 (n=150)
Bilingual items	**35.46 (n=100)**	**55.29 (n=47)**	**40.05 (n=147)**
Arabic – English	2.84 (n=8)	1.18 (n=1)	2.45 (n=9)
Hebrew – Arabic	20.21 (n=57)	49.41 (n=42)	26.98 (n=99)
Hebrew – English	12.41 (n=35)	4.71 (n=4)	10.63 (n=39)
Multilingual items	**7.09 (n=20)**	**9.41 (n=8)**	**7.63 (n=28)**
Grand Total	**100 (n=282)**	**100 (n=85)**	**100 (n=367)**

The findings in Table 3.1 indicate that Hebrew appears in most of the public signs in the Druze LL (85.45%), and is the only language featured in almost half of the signs (45.74%). Arabic and English appeared in nearly one-third of the Druze public signs. Arabic was featured on only 31.14% of the Druze public signs, either alone or with another language. English, either alone or combined with another language, appeared on only one-fourth of the total Druze items.

The contrastive data from non-Druze areas reveals that the majority of the signs were bilingual and multilingual items (64.7%), with only 35.29% being monolingual items. Arabic appeared on the majority of the non-Druze public signs (70.59%), either alone or combined with another language, and Hebrew appeared on the most of the non-Druze public signs (88.24%), either alone or combined with another language. Monolingual Hebrew-only signs made up one-fourth of the subtotal of non-Druze LL items, while 10.59% of the signs were in Arabic-only. English appeared on 15.3% of the total number of non-Druze LL items, either alone or combined with another language.

Comparing the Druze and non-Druze data, we can conclude that, although the presence of Hebrew is salient in both LLs, Hebrew appeared on a majority of the total Druze LL items (85.45%), as well as on a majority of the non-Druze LL items (88.24%). The two sociolinguistic landscapes differ in that in the Druze sector, Hebrew appeared on about half (45.74%) of the monolingual public signs, whereas in the non-Druze sector, Hebrew was featured more often on bilingual and multilingual signs (63.53%). Interestingly, the results of the current study regarding the data of the non-Druze LL are

similar to those obtained by Ben-Rafael et al. (2006), particularly the significant presence of Hebrew in general and in the bilingual and multilingual data. One may conclude that in the Druze LL the relative presence of Hebrew is more significant than that of Arabic, since the presence of Hebrew seems to be stronger in the monolingual Druze LL than in the non-Druze LL. The presence of the two languages in the Druze LL as well as the non-Druze LL does not fully explain the actual capital of each language in these two LLs, therefore it is important to examine the prominence of the two languages in the bilingual and multilingual items in both sectors (Scollon and Scollon 2003; Cenoz and Gorter 2006).

We will now take a closer look at the overall bilingual and the multilingual data in order to extract further information about what Cenoz and Gorter call the “prominence” of each language, with the assumption that the prominent language is chosen by the signs' creators to target the Druze community.

Table 3.2 Language Prominence in the Druze and Non-Druze Linguistic Landscapes (LL items %)

Language[32]	Druze					Grand Total
	Arabic	**English**	**Equal**	**Hebrew**	**Total**	
Bilingual	**26.67%**	**4.17%**	**2.50%**	**50.00%**	**83.33%**	**83.33%**
Arabic – English	5.83%	0.00%	0.83%	0.00%	6.67%	6.67%
Hebrew -Arabic	20.83%	0.00%	0.00%	26.67%	47.50%	47.50%
Hebrew - English	0.00%	4.17%	1.67%	23.33%	29.17%	29.17%
Multilingual	**9.17%**	**0.00%**	**0.00%**	**7.50%**	**16.67%**	**16.67%**
Grand Total	**35.83%**	**4.17%**	**2.50%**	**57.50%**	**100%**	**100%**
	Non-Druze					**Grand Total**
	Arabic	**English**	**Equal**	**Hebrew**	**Total**	
Bilingual	**50.91%**	**3.64%**	**3.64%**	**27.27%**	**85.45%**	**85.45%**
Arabic – English	1.82%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	1.82%	1.82%
Hebrew -Arabic	49.09%	0.00%	3.64%	23.64%	76.36%	76.36%
Hebrew - English	0.00%	3.64%	0.00%	3.64%	7.27%	7.27%
Multilingual	**10.91%**	**1.82%**	**0.00%**	**1.82%**	**14.55%**	**14.55%**
Grand Total	**61.82%**	**5.45%**	**3.64%**	**29.09%**	**100%**	**100%**

The figures in Table 3.2 suggest that the relative prominence of Hebrew and Arabic in the Druze areas is clearly defined. Hebrew was found to be prominent in the majority of the bilingual and multilingual signs in the Druze sector (57.5%), while Arabic was

[32] The language prominence coding in the bilingual and multilingual signs generated only the following options: Arabic, Hebrew, English or equal prominence of Arabic and Hebrew.

prominent in only approximately one-third of the bilingual and multilingual signs. In contrast, Arabic was found to be prominent in 61.82% of the bilingual and multilingual signs in the non-Druze sector, while Hebrew was found to be prominent in 29.09%. These findings suggest that Arabic has less linguistic capital in the Druze areas than in the non-Druze areas.

The general conclusion we may derive from the language presence and prominence data is that in the Druze LL, Hebrew is salient in both presence and prominence, whereas in the non-Druze LL, Hebrew is salient in its presence but is not prominent. The non-Druze findings reinforce the conclusions of the study of Ben-Rafael et al. (2006) that Arabic and Hebrew maintain different status and prominence in Israel, and the majority language, Hebrew, dominates the linguistic landscape as expected. The present study suggests that the picture is different in Druze areas, where Hebrew not only dominates the general Druze LL, but is also prominent in bilingual and multilingual signs, and these findings suggest that Hebrew maintains a higher capital in the Druze linguistic market than in the non-Druze linguistic market. This means that Hebrew may be considered more significant than Arabic in terms of public communication as well as in the conversion of its linguistic value to economic benefits in the Druze marketplace We may conclude that the linguistic behavior of the Druze actors likely reflects the needs and desires of the local Druze consumers as well as non-local consumers. Although the sample taken from the non-Druze LL is relatively small, Arabic was very prominent in the signage of this sector, indicating that Palestinians of the city of Shafa‘Amer in Israel

believe that Arabic is not only an important means of public communication, but also that the conversion of the linguistic value of Arabic generates economic benefits to the businesses owners in this linguistic market.

3.3.2 Language Presence and Prominence: Druze LL Areas versus Non-Druze LL Items

In this section I seek to examine the presence and prominence of both languages in Druze areas as compared with non-Druze areas, which will elicit a more complete overall picture of the two LLs, Druze and non-Druze.

As previously mentioned, LL data were collected from three Druze areas. The Mount Carmel area includes Dāliyat al-Carmel and ʻIsifya, and the Yarka area includes the town of Yarka, the neighboring town of Julis, and the Druze neighborhoods of the city of Shafaʻ Amer. The examination of the language presence in the overall top-down and bottom-up items of the non-Druze LL versus the Druze LL when broken down into the three areas reveals significant differences among the areas as well as differences between the Druze LL and the non-Druze LL, as can be seen in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 The Presence of Arabic and Hebrew in Each Area (% of column's total)

	Druze Locations			Shafa'Amer Non-Druze
	Carmel area	**Shafa'Amer**	**Yarka area**	
Monolingual items	**62.42 (n=98)**	**48.65 (n=18)**	**52.27 (n=46)**	**35.29 (n=30)**
Arabic	8.28 (n=13)	18.92 (n=7)	6.82 (n=6)	10.59 (n=9)
English	1.91 (n=3)	2.70 (n=1)	3.41 (n=3)	0.00 (n=0)
Hebrew	52.23 (n=82)	27.03 (n=10)	42.05 (n=37)	24.71 (n=21)
Bilingual items	**29.94 (n=47)**	**45.95 (n=17)**	**40.91 (n=36)**	**55.29 (n=47)**
Arabic – English	2.55 (n=4)	2.70 (n=1)	3.41 (n=3)	1.18 (n=1)
Hebrew –Arabic	14.01 (n=22)	35.14 (n=13)	25.00 (n=22)	49.41 (n=42)
Hebrew – English	13.38 (n=21)	8.11 (n=3)	12.50 (n=11)	4.71 (n=4)
Multilingual items	**7.64 (n=12)**	**5.41 (n=2)**	**6.82 (n=6)**	**9.41 (n=8)**
Total	**100 (n=157)**	**100 (n=37)**	**100 (n=88)**	**100 (n=85)**

A comparison of the presence of Hebrew and Arabic in the three Druze areas reveals that when the categories Hebrew-present and Hebrew-only are combined, Hebrew appears on most of the signs in the Carmel area (87.26%). Thus a very small number of public signs in all Druze areas contain no Hebrew. Moreover, Arabic appeared (alone or with another language or two) on only 32.48% of signs in these areas. In the Yarka-Julis area, Hebrew appeared on 86.37% of the subtotal in this area, while Arabic appeared on 42.05% of the subtotal. These findings indicate that Hebrew has a significantly greater

value than Arabic in conveying public messages and attracting consumers in the linguistic markets of both the Mount Carmel and Yarka areas.

As for the Druze signs in Shafa‘Amer, it was interesting to find that the gap between the presence of Hebrew and that of Arabic was significantly smaller in the Druze neighborhoods than in other areas. Hebrew was present on 75.69% of the total signs in this area, while Arabic appeared on 62.17% of the subtotal. The results obtained from the Druze neighborhoods of Shafa’Amer are very similar to those from non-Druze neighborhoods of the same city. These findings seem to indicate that there are similarities between the linguistic markets of the Druze and non-Druze in Shafa'Amer. It seems that both the Druze and non-Druze actors of the city of Shafa‘Amer anticipate similar economic benefits from the linguistic values of Hebrew in the sign representations.

Another difference between the non-Druze LL and Druze LL is the prominence of Hebrew found in the three Druze locations. Table 3.4 summarizes the results of language prominence in each area:

Table 3.4 Language Prominence in Each Area

Dāliyat al-Carmel – ‘Isifya	**Arabic**	**English**	**Equal**	**Hebrew**	**Grand Total**
Bilingual items	13.56%	3.39%	3.39%	59.32%	79.66%
Multilingual items	10.17%	0.00%	0.00%	10.17%	20.34%
Grand Total	23.73%	3.39%	3.39%	69.49%	100.00%
Shafa‘Amer/Druze	**Arabic**	**English**	**Equal**	**Hebrew**	**Grand Total**
Bilingual items	57.89%	10.53%	0.00%	21.05%	89.47%
Multilingual items	10.53%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	10.53%
Grand Total	68.42%	10.53%	0.00%	21.05%	100.00%
Yarka - Julis	**Arabic**	**English**	**Equal**	**Hebrew**	**Grand Total**
Bilingual items	30.95%	2.38%	2.38%	50.00%	85.71%
Multilingual items	7.14%	0.00%	0.00%	7.14%	14.29%
Grand Total	38.10%	2.38%	2.38%	57.14%	100.00%
Shafa‘Amer/ non-Druze	**Arabic**	**English**	**Equal**	**Hebrew**	**Grand Total**
Bilingual items	50.91%	3.64%	3.64%	27.27%	85.45%
Multilingual items	10.91%	1.82%	0.00%	1.82%	14.55%
Grand Total	61.82%	5.45%	3.64%	29.09%	100.00%

Table 3.4 demonstrates that Hebrew took precedence over Arabic in Mount Carmel’s Druze towns and in the Yarka-Julis area. Hebrew was prominent in the majority of the bilingual and multilingual signs of the two Druze towns of Mount Carmel (69.49%), while Arabic was prominent in less than one-fourth of the bilingual and multilingual

signs of this area (23.75%). Hebrew was found to be prominent on approximately three-fifths of the bilingual and multilingual signs in the Yarka area (57.14%), while Arabic was prominent on two-fifths of these signs (38.10%). Although Hebrew is prominent in both areas, it appears to have greater linguistic capital in the Mount Carmel area than in the Yarka-Julis area. Additionally, these findings indicate that actors of the Mount Carmel area, more than in other Druze areas, use Hebrew to communicate with their customers and other socioeconomic interlocutors. .

An interesting exception was found in the bilingual and multilingual signs of the city of Shafa‘Amer. In contrast with the other Druze towns in the Mount Carmel and Yarka areas, Arabic was more prominent in Shafa‘Amer’s LL, dominating 68.42% of the Druze bilingual and multilingual signs, and 61.82% of non-Druze bilingual and multilingual signs. The findings of language prominence in both sectors of the city of Shafa'Amer reaffirm my earlier observation regarding these sectors, which is that they share similar linguistic markets in which Arabic seems to maintain a higher capital than Hebrew and is therefore featured on signs to generate more business.

As can be seen, the findings present discrepancies in language prominence among the three Druze areas. One factor that appears to be relevant is the geographical location of the Druze communities and the level of language contact and economic relations with a particular town's Jewish-Israeli neighbors. As earlier noted, the three Druze LL areas are situated in different language contact environments. The towns of Dāliyat al-Carmel and ‘Isifya in the Mount Carmel area maintain a higher intensity of language contact with

Hebrew speakers due to their geographic location. Yarka and Julis are both fully Druze towns, located adjacent to one another on the western side of the Galilee Mountains in the Lower Galilee, an area inhabited primarily by Palestinian-Israelis. Shafa'Amer is a Palestinian city with a significant Druze minority, most of whom live in separate neighborhoods.

The prominence of Hebrew in the Carmel area's signs may be explained as a result of this area being more deeply connected than the other two Druze areas to the Hebrew-speaking population, and their linguistic market being more entwined with the national market in which Hebrew enjoys a higher capital than Arabic. In contrast, the Druze community in Shafa'Amer experiences the highest level of direct contact with the educational, cultural and political dynamics of the Palestinian-Israeli minority. For example, although a number of schools in Shafa'Amer are attended exclusively by Druze students, with the exception of the Druze Heritage program, they are required to follow the curriculum of the Arab educational system.

In Shafa'Amer, as in other non-Druze Palestinian-Israeli towns, left-leaning, non-Zionist groups such as The Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, The National Democratic Assembly, and the Islamic Movements, are politically and culturally active at both the local and national levels. While sectarian and Zionist groups are dominant in exclusively Druze towns, some Druze in Shafa'Amer take part in the activities of these non-Zionist groups. It is important to mention that although the Druze in Shafa'Amer live in separate neighborhoods, the Druze and non-Druze communities maintain mutually

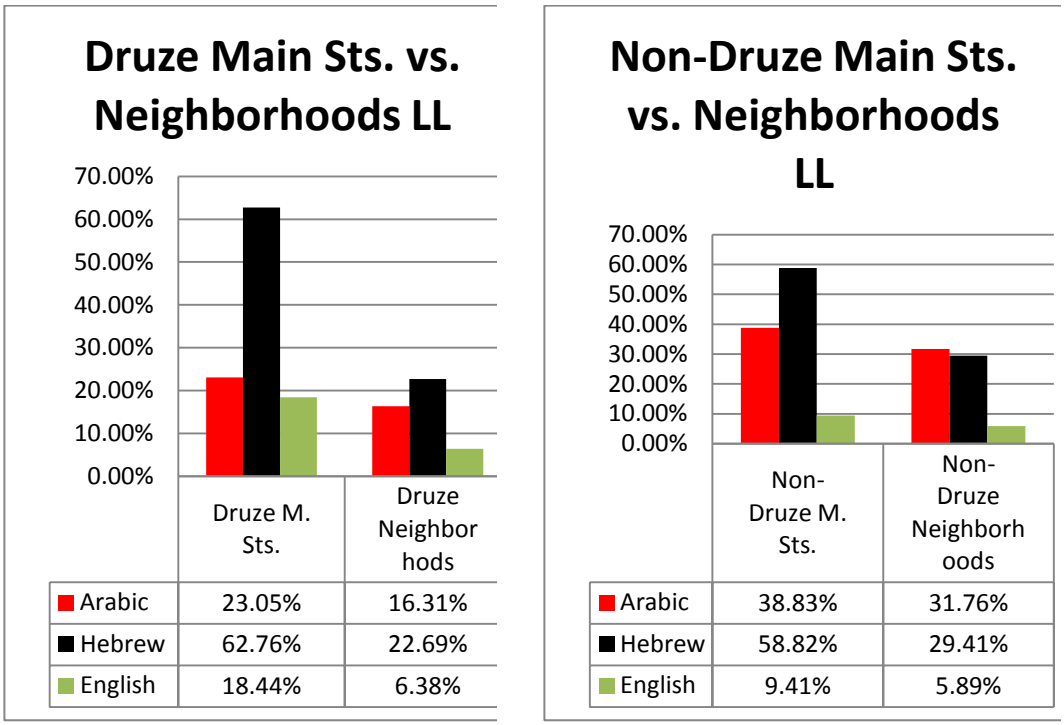
beneficial economic relationships. Precisely because of these relationships, the Druze in Shafa'Amer are acutely aware of the market dynamics and client expectations that motivate them to feature Arabic prominently in the language of their signs

Although Hebrew is more prominent than Arabic in the overall signs of the Yarka area, it may be due to the fact that the data is more representative of main street and shopping center signs, and therefore the Hebrew language is chosen in order to communicate with Jewish-Israeli visitors and thereby generate more economic benefit.

3.3.3 Language Presence in Main Streets and Town Centers versus Neighborhoods of Druze and Non-Druze LLs

In this section I will take a closer look at the signs in reference to their location within each community, that is, whether they are displayed in the main streets or inside the neighborhoods. Figure 3.4 summarizes the presence of Arabic and Hebrew in the main streets and inside the neighborhoods of the two LLs, the Druze LL and the non-Druze LL:

Figure 3.4 Language presence in main streets and neighborhoods of Druze and non-Druze LLs



As can be seen in Figure 3.4, Hebrew has a large presence in the main streets, town centers and neighborhoods in both the Druze and non-Druze LLs with one exception, a non-Druze neighborhood in which Arabic has a slightly greater presence than Hebrew. In the Druze LL, Hebrew has a greater presence than Arabic in both areas, main streets and neighborhoods. The presence of Arabic on signs in non-Druze main streets and town centers is 20% less than that of Hebrew, whereas in the Druze sector, the presence of Hebrew is 40% greater than that of Arabic. These results suggest that Hebrew has a greater presence than Arabic inside the Druze neighborhoods, where one might expect the opposite result since Arabic is the first language of the Druze and most of the potential customers are locals from those neighborhoods. However it seems that

intervening market forces are in effect within these neighborhoods as well. Hebrew seems to enjoy greater linguistic capital than Arabic in the main streets and shopping centers in both Druze and non-Druze areas, and even within the neighborhoods of the Druze areas.

3.3.4 Language Presence in Druze Areas: Main Streets and Town Centers versus Neighborhoods

In this section I will look at the Druze data broken down into two categories, main streets and neighborhoods. I will first examine the overall data, then look at each Druze town individually. Figures 3.5.1 and 3.5.2 represent the language presence in the main streets and Druze neighborhoods of the three areas[33].

We can see that Hebrew has a strong presence in the LL of the main streets and town centers of the Mount Carmel and Yarka-Julis areas. In each of these areas, the presence of Hebrew is 40% greater than that of Arabic. Although the Mount Carmel area and the Druze neighborhoods in Shafa'Amer are the most different in terms of sociolinguistic connections, the dominance of Hebrew is fairly significant in the neighborhoods of both. Hebrew appears about 10% more often than Arabic in signs found in these two locations. But language presence alone does not reflect the influence of the sociolinguistic connections of these two areas, and an examination of language prominence is necessary in order to shed light on this discrepancy. In the Yarka-Julis area, Arabic and Hebrew

[33] The main streets data of Shafa'Amer represents non-Druze main streets, since most of the Druze in Shafa'Amer reside separately in Druze neighborhoods.

have an almost equal presence in the neighborhood signs, with Arabic being slightly more prominent. The strong presence of Hebrew in the main streets and the shopping centers of this area, as well as in the Mount Cameral area, may be explained by the fact that the actors of the signs hope to draw Jewish-Israeli shoppers to their markets. More insight and a better understanding of these results may be revealed in the following section in which I will examine the differences between the top-down and bottom-up LL items of these areas according to their locations.

Figure 3.5.1 Language presence in main streets and neighborhoods of Mount Carmel and Yarka-Julis areas

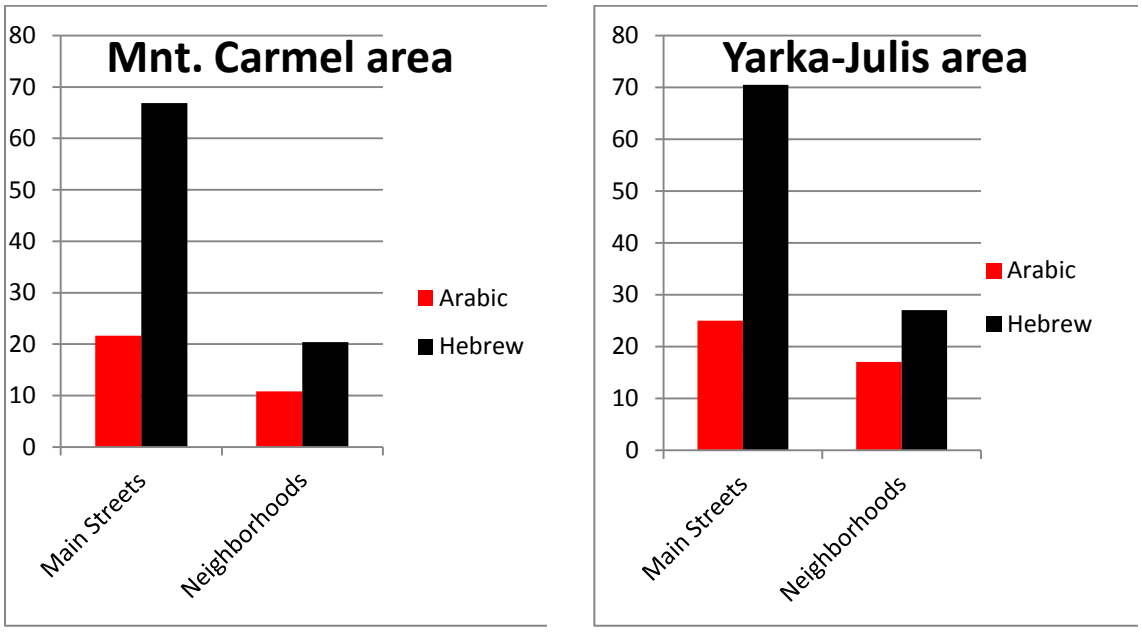
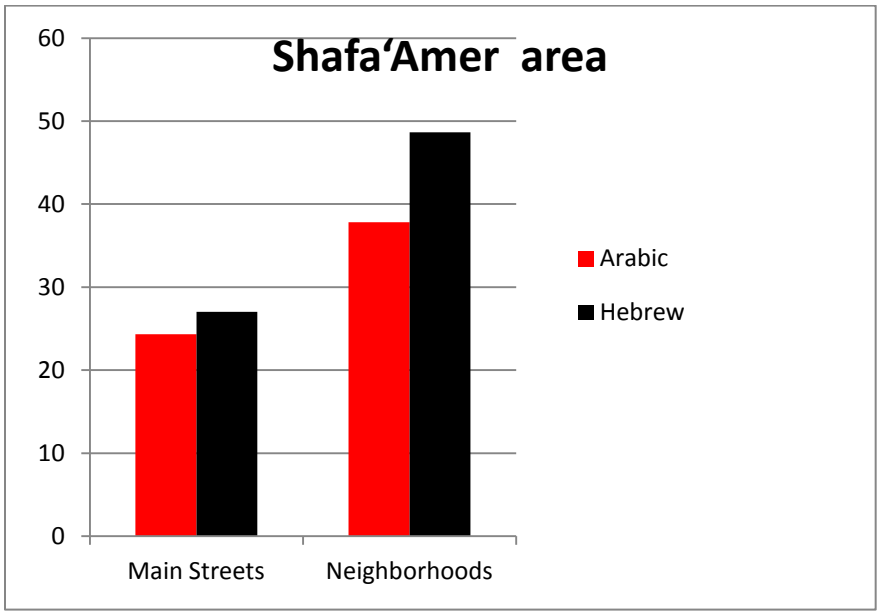


Figure 3.5.2 Language presence in main streets and neighborhoods of Shafa'Amer area



We can see that Hebrew has a strong presence in the LL of the main streets and town centers of the Mount Carmel and Yarka-Julis areas. In each of these areas, the presence of Hebrew is 40% greater than that of Arabic. Although the Mount Carmel area and the Druze neighborhoods in Shafa'Amer are the most different in terms of sociolinguistic connections, the dominance of Hebrew is fairly significant in the neighborhoods of both. Hebrew appears about 10% more often than Arabic in signs found in these two locations. But language presence alone does not reflect the influence of the sociolinguistic connections of these two areas, and an examination of language prominence is necessary in order to shed light on this discrepancy. In the Yarka-Julis area, Arabic and Hebrew have an almost equal presence in the neighborhood signs, with Arabic being slightly more prominent. The strong presence of Hebrew in the main streets and the shopping

centers of this area, as well as in the Mount Cameral area, may be explained by the fact that the actors of the signs hope to draw Jewish-Israeli shoppers to their markets. More insight and a better understanding of these results may be revealed in the following section in which I will examine the differences between the top-down and bottom-up LL items of these areas according to their locations.

3.3.5 Top-Down versus Bottom-Up LL Items

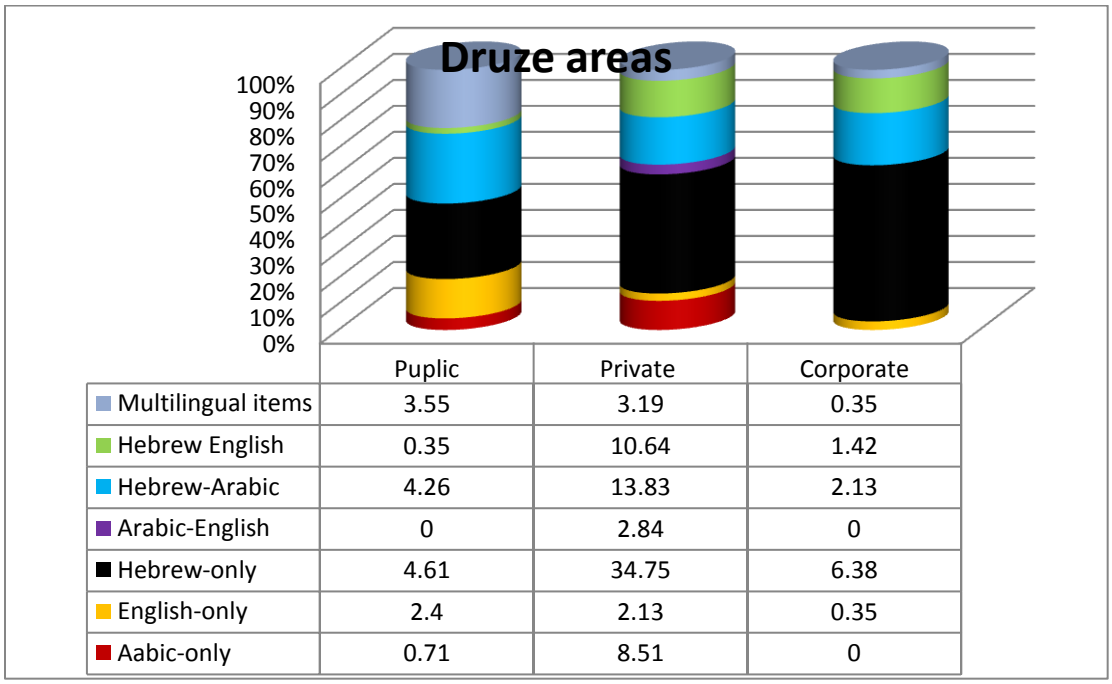
The difference between top-down and bottom-up LL items is that the former includes official and public LL representations such as road signs, signs on government buildings, street names and public announcements that are produced and posted by the central government, whereas the latter refers to non-official linguistic representations such as shop signs, private commercial signs and private announcements that are produced by local individuals or non-official corporations (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006: 14; Backhaus 2006: 54).

In examining the overall data for all areas in accordance with the criteria for top-down and bottom-up LL items, the picture that emerges is that Hebrew appears (alone or with another language) on the majority of the Druze bottom-up LL items (72.69%), while Arabic is featured (alone or with other language) on just one-third of the overall bottom-up items (28.37%). On one-fifth of the bottom-up LL items English appeared either alone or with another language in the Druze signs. With regard to top-down items in the Druze

LL, Hebrew appeared on all the signs (a total of 38) except two in which Arabic appeared alone.

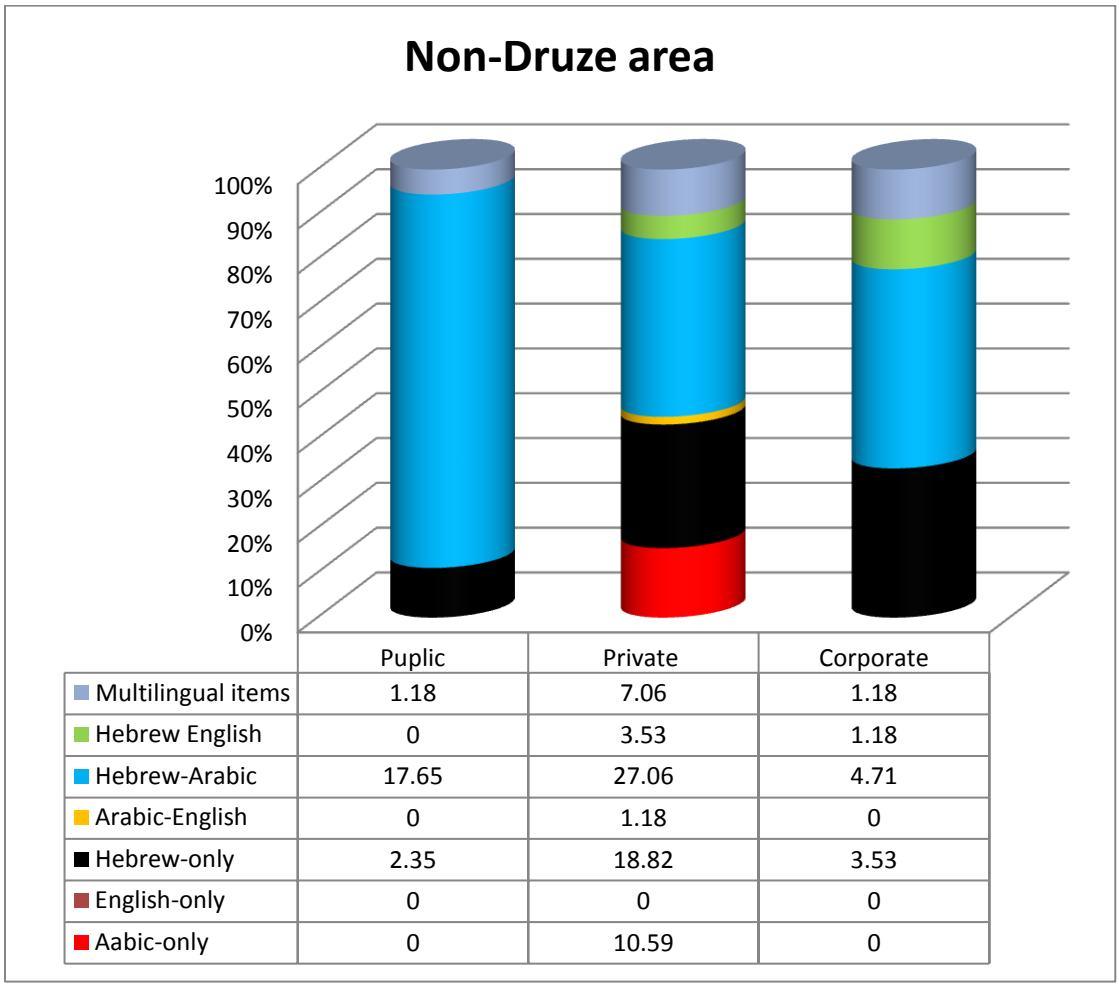
Monolingual Hebrew signs have the highest representation in private LL items in Druze areas, with 34.75% of the total number of Druze LL items. In contrast, bilingual signs that contain both Arabic and Hebrew (27.06%) dominate the private items of the non-Druze LL. None of the corporate signs in the Druze and non-Druze LLs featured monolingual Arabic, most likely because they represent nationwide corporations. Hebrew-only or Hebrew combined with another language appeared on 12.77% of the total number of public signs in the Druze LL, while Arabic-only or Arabic combined with another language appeared on 8.52% of the public signs in the Druze LL.

Table 3.5. 1 Overall Druze areas: Top-down versus Bottom-up Items (% of subtotal number*)*



	Puplic	Private	Corporate
Multilingual items	3.55	3.19	0.35
Hebrew English	0.35	10.64	1.42
Hebrew-Arabic	4.26	13.83	2.13
Arabic-English	0	2.84	0
Hebrew-only	4.61	34.75	6.38
English-only	2.4	2.13	0.35
Aabic-only	0.71	8.51	0

Table 3.5.2 Overall Non-Druze area: Top-down versus Bottom-up Items (% of subtotal number)



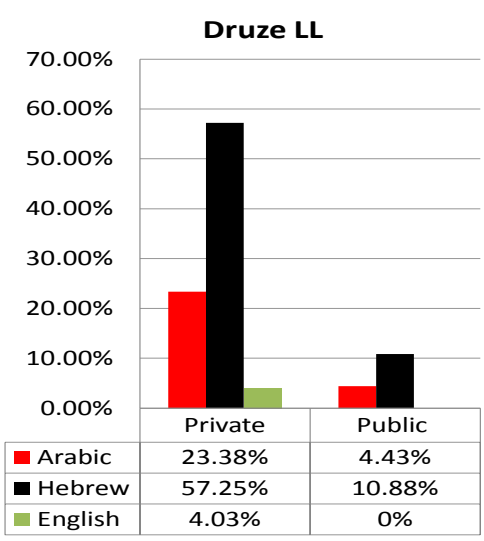
	Puplic	Private	Corporate
Multilingual items	1.18	7.06	1.18
Hebrew English	0	3.53	1.18
Hebrew-Arabic	17.65	27.06	4.71
Arabic-English	0	1.18	0
Hebrew-only	2.35	18.82	3.53
English-only	0	0	0
Aabic-only	0	10.59	0

The non-Druze LL display differs from that of the Druze LL in that the gap between the presence of Hebrew and that of Arabic is smaller in the top-down, as well as in the bottom up LL items. The presence of Hebrew (21.18%) is only slightly greater to that of Arabic (18.83%) in the non-Druze top-down LL items. With regard to non-Druze bottom-up LL items, Hebrew appeared (alone or with another language) on 67.06%, whereas Arabic appeared (alone or with another language) on 52.36% and English

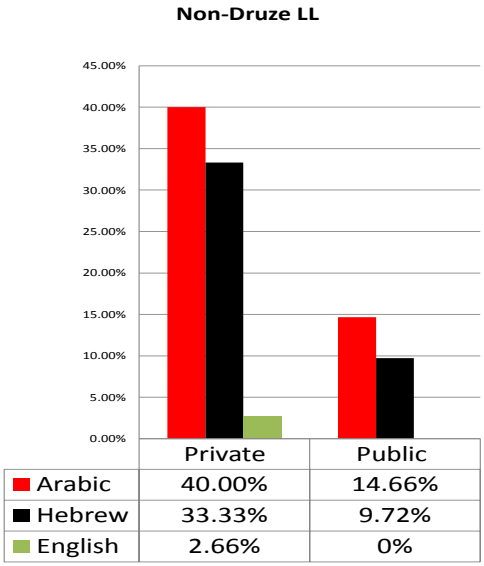
appeared (alone or with another language) on nearly one-fifth of the non-Druze bottom-up LL items (20.92%). In comparing the non-Druze bottom-up items with the Druze bottom-up items, Hebrew seems to have an almost equal presence in the data of the two LLs. A different picture emerges, however, with regard to Arabic. Arabic appears on almost half of the non-Druze bottom-up data, while it appears on only one-third of the Druze bottom-up data. To summarize, these results may indicate that in the bottom-up LL items of both Druze and non-Druze sectors, Hebrew enjoys a relatively higher value than Arabic and English, while in the top-down LL items Hebrew seems to enjoy a higher value than Arabic only in the Druze sector.

Although the presence of Hebrew was salient in the overall top-down and bottom- up LL items of both the Druze and non-Druze sectors, the prominence of Hebrew in bilingual and multilingual items was not maintained in the non-Druze bottom-up and top-down LL items. In these environments, Arabic prominence was salient on just on two fifths of all items (40%), while Hebrew was prominent on only 33.33% of these items. The prominence of Arabic was also salient in top-down non-Druze LL items: 14.66% of the signs were dominated by Arabic and 9.72% by Hebrew. In the Druze sector the prominence of Hebrew was maintained in both the bottom-up and top-down LL items. Figure 3.6 summarizes the results of language prominence by sign authorship:

Figure 3.6 Overall language prominence by sign authorship in Druze and non-Druze LL items[34]



	Private	Public
Arabic	23.38%	4.43%
Hebrew	57.25%	10.88%
English	4.03%	0%



	Private	Public
Arabic	40.00%	14.66%
Hebrew	33.33%	9.72%
English	2.66%	0%

The results obtained from the examination of the bottom-up signs displayed by private actors affirm the general results obtained from the data regarding the discrepancies between language presence and prominence in the Druze LL and non-Druze LL. Furthermore, these findings suggest different trends with regard to the linguistic capital of Hebrew and Arabic within the two linguistic markets, Druze and non-Druze. Hebrew enjoys a higher value than Arabic among the Druze community, while in the non-Druze community of Shafa'Amer, Arabic appears to be more highly valued. In their displays, Druze actors, more than non-Druze actors, tend to favor the use of Hebrew over Arabic, reflecting both sensitivity to their customers' expectations and an

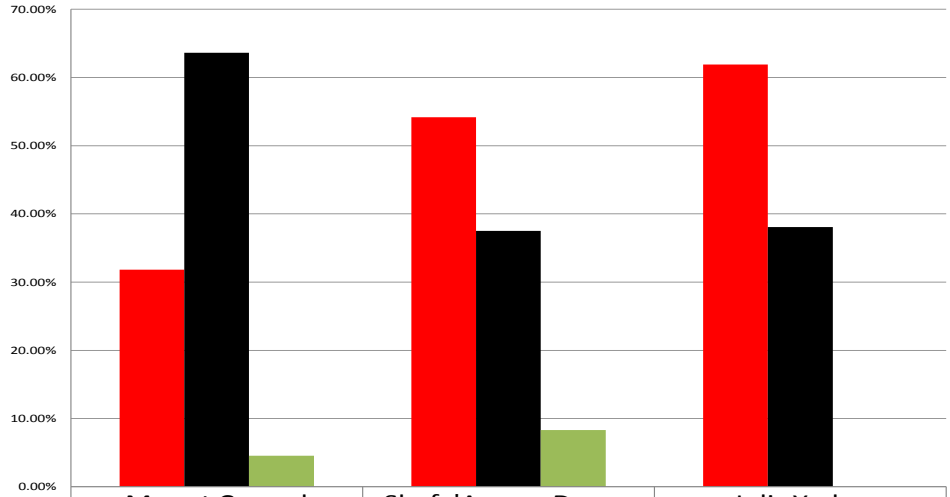
[34] Statistics in Table 3.6 do not include the corporation signs, a total of 39 signs in both LLs.

understanding of the socioeconomic interplay of Hebrew in the Druze community in Israel.

3.3.6 Language Prominence in Neighborhoods of Druze areas

One of the more interesting features revealed by the data is that Hebrew predominance is not restricted to bottom-up signs in the main streets and centers of the Druze towns in the Mount Carmel area, it is also significantly prominent in the bottom-up signs of the neighborhoods in this area. In the Yarka area's neighborhoods and Druze neighborhoods in Shafa'Amer Arabic dominates, to some extent, the bottom-up signs, as can be seen in Figure 3.7:

Figure 3.7 Language prominence in neighborhoods of Druze areas[35]



	Mount Carmel	Shafa'Amer - Druze	Julis Yarka
Arabic	31.81%	54.16%	61.90%
Hebrew	63.63%	37.50%	38.09%
English	4.54%	8.33%	0.00%

[35] The total number of the signs from Druze neighborhoods is 89, 44 found in Mount Carmel, 24 found in Shaf'amer and 21 in the Yarka-Julis area.

These results show that in the Carmel area, with its high level of language contact and economic relations with Jewish-Israeli neighbors, Hebrew is present and prominent in the LL. These results suggest that the Druze of the Carmel area assign greater linguistic capital value to Hebrew than do other Druze communities in Israel. Moreover these results indicate that outside economic and linguistic market forces are not the only forces that dictate the language behavior of the Druze actors within the neighborhoods of the Mount Carmel area. The use of Hebrew as the primary means of written public communication within the local community suggests that the linguistic market of the Mount Carmel area is closely tied to that of the Jewish-Israeli market, ties which may have broader implications on the language competence in Hebrew of the residents of this area than of other Druze areas .

Overall, these results indicate that the Druze LLs of the three areas studied in this chapter are all influenced by economic forces. Yet it seems that the Mount Carmel LL is more deeply linked to the Hebrew-speaking linguistic market, whereas the Druze neighborhoods of Shafa'Amer and the Yarka area are more connected to the local linguistic market in which Arabic is valued over Hebrew. The linguistic displays found in the public spaces of these areas shows the high level of bilingual penetration and its impact on the language behavior of both actors and consumers.

3.4 Summary and Implications of the Findings

The higher degree of Hebrew's visibility in the LL data in both Druze and non-Druze sectors reflects Bourdieu's perspective that languages enjoy different values in the linguistic markets. Yet, in addition to the fact that Hebrew and Arabic enjoy different capital, the current study shows that the capital of Arabic and Hebrew varies from area to area, and is dependent upon the dynamics of the local markets. As expected, the overall presence of Hebrew was significantly greater than that of Arabic and English in the main streets, shopping and town centers in both sectors. Surprisingly though, Hebrew appeared prominently in the overall monolingual displays of signs in the Druze LL, while in the non-Druze LL, Hebrew had more of a presence in bilingual displays.

Examination of the bottom-up and top-down LL items revealed that Hebrew appeared significantly more often than Arabic and English in the Druze towns of Mount Carmel and in the Yarka-Julis areas, but less often in LL items found in Shafa'Amer's Druze neighborhoods. The same can be said about the Hebrew presence in the top-down and bottom-up non-Druze LL items, but with varying degrees of salience. With regard to general neighborhood data, the findings show that Hebrew is significantly present in the neighborhoods of Druze towns in Mount Carmel. The presence of Hebrew in Druze neighborhoods in Shafa'Amer is slightly more prominent than that of Arabic, and in the Yarka-Julis area, the two languages are equally represented with Arabic having a slight advantage.

One of the more interesting findings of this study is that there were significant differences between the two sectors, the Druze and non-Druze, with regard to bottom-up LL data of neighborhoods and language prominence in bilingual and multilingual signs. The bilingual and multilingual items of the Druze LL showed Hebrew prominence in the Mount Carmel area, yet in Druze LL items in Shafa'Amer and the neighborhoods of the Yarka-Julis area the predominant language was Arabic.

Looking at the findings as a whole, we can conclude that the Druze LLs vary depending upon the nature of the local linguistic markets and the economic dynamics. One of the findings of this study is that Hebrew is visibly dominant in the signage of Druze main streets and town centers, as well as being prominent and relevant in the signage of Druze neighborhoods in the Mount Carmel area. This study's findings with regard to the Druze main streets confirms Ben Rafael et al.'s (2006) findings as well as Bourdieu's theory, but the difference found in the language prominence between the Druze main street LL items and neighborhood LL items suggests that future studies should take into account the location of the signs and the prominence of each language in the bilingual and multilingual LL items.

The salience of Hebrew in the bottom-up signs found in Druze neighborhoods in the Mount Carmel area can be explained by the fact that this market is more deeply linked than other Druze areas with the Jewish-Israeli market due to location, language contact and economic reasons. Moreover, the monolingual and bilingual presence and prominence of Hebrew in the Druze neighborhoods, particularly in the Druze towns of

the Mount Carmel area, Dāliyat al-Carmel and ʻIsifya, suggests that the capital of Hebrew in these areas is greater than that in the others.

The prominence of Arabic in the non-Druze LL and Druze LL of the Shafaʻ Amer and Yarka-Julis neighborhood LL items indicates that these LLs are linked to a different type of local market, one in which the local value of Arabic in the bottom-up items is greater than that of Hebrew, the language of the majority in Israel. Arabic acts as a majority language in the Palestinian-Israeli locations due to the demographic and economic structure of these areas. Therefore it is not surprising to find that Arabic is prominent in the bottom-up items as that is the language that can better respond to the expectations of clients in this area.

Hebrew has become the dominant component of the linguistic market in the Mount Carmel area and plays a major role in written public communication, as well as in the language competence of the residents. These findings raise several questions deserving of further study, including whether or not the relatively high capital of Hebrew in the Mount Carmel area is predictive of what will happen in other areas as local economies become more intertwined, and whether or not an increase in the linguistic capital of one language necessarily means a decrease in that of other languages. Another question raised by these findings concerns the extent to which the linguistic behavior of the main streets and shopping centers, which are mainly driven by the forces of economics and power relations, will affect linguistic behavior within the neighborhoods. Yet another area of

inquiry for further study is the extent to which LL marking is indicative of future language shift in the Mount Carmel area.

CHAPTER FOUR

Language Choice of Druze Internet Users

This chapter focuses on the linguistic design and language choice of Druze websites in Israel, in particular those representing the Mount Carmel and the Lower Galilee areas. These two areas include the two largest Druze towns, Dāliyat al-Carmel and Yarka. The goal of this chapter is to examine the choice of language - Arabic, Hebrew, or both - used in the design of the Druze websites, as well as the language consumption of the users who post on these websites[36]. The purpose of examining the language choices of Druze internet users is to determine the linguistic capital of both Arabic and Hebrew, which is manifested in patterns of language consumption and language production in the Druze websites. Moreover, this study seeks to examine the implications of the language behavior of Druze internet users on the maintenance or loss of Arabic, their first language.

The first section of this chapter is an introduction to the design of bilingual internet websites, and provides an explanation as to how they impact language choice and maintenance in a given geographical area. In the second section, I will present the data and the methodology that this study is based on. An examination of the data will be presented in the third section, which will proceed in three steps. In the first step I will examine the language used in the design of the homepages and main subsections of

[36] The study will focus only on Arabic and Hebrew. The use of English in the websites was limited to proper names such as game names or franchise names in the advertisements, and as such it did not play a significant role in language production and consumption.

selected websites from two different locations, the Lower Galilee and the Mount Carmel area. The data from the Lower Galilee area includes two websites from the town of Yarka and one from the neighboring town of Julis, while that of the Mount Carmel area includes three websites that represent the towns of Dāliyat Al-Carmel and the neighboring town of ʻIsifya. In the second step, the focus of the examination will be on the language choice of the advertisements that appear on the homepages of the selected websites. Lastly, I will examine the language consumption of the Druze internet users in three domains where they post their contributions: congratulation announcements, the subsection of creative writing, literary works and opinions, and talkbacks in response to posted items on the selected websites.

4.1 Bilingual Web Design and Language Choice and Maintenance

Virtual multilingual environments of communication are believed to be analogous to physical and offline forms of communication, but differ with regard to social manners, etiquette, and interactional patterns (see the essays in Schroeder 2002). The analogy does prevail in that both environments manifest the status and power relations between majority and minority languages (Ivkovic and Lotherington 2009).

Online communication has evolved into what is called "written speech," a written form of spoken language. In contrast with traditional written communication, the online written form of spoken language tends to be less formal, complex, and abstract (Crystal 2001: 27-31). For this reason it closely resembles spoken language behavior. Analyzing

the online language behavior of the Druze in Israel, in particular, the extent to which Hebrew has been integrated into their linguistic repertoire may provide insight into the state of Arabic maintenance.

Studies of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) have found that communications technology and the Internet have had an ambiguous effect on linguistic diversity (Danet and Herring 2007:20-21). On one hand, technology and the Internet can pose a threat to the survival of minority languages by implicitly supporting local majority languages or prestigious global languages; on the other hand they have the potential to support minority and endangered languages and revitalize them if they are made available to minority language speakers (Cunliffe and Herring 2005; Cunliffe 2007).

Warschauer et al. (2007) studied the language choice on the online communication of young Egyptian professionals and found that they tended to use English for communicating by email rather than Standard Arabic. Furthermore, young Egyptian users have developed Romanized versions of Egyptian Arabic phonetic representations, which are sometimes combined with numerical characters to form colloquial Arabic sounds. These young Egyptians typically use English in formal communications, but prefer the Romanized Egyptian Arabic in personal and intimate interactions. The research of Warschauer et al. exemplifies the contradiction between the global networks and local Egyptian identity. On the one hand the results showed the dominance of English on the Web as a global language, and as an online language with supporting social and technological strategies. Yet, on the other hand the findings of this study showed that the

new form of communication strengthens speakers' attachment to local Egyptian dialect, culture and identity.

At the same time, a study of Welsh users of online social networks conducted by Honeycutt and Cunliffe (2010) clearly shows that the Internet can be used to maintain a group's endangered languages. The study investigated the connection between online social networks and Welsh language maintenance. The conclusion was that significant strides have been made in spreading the use of the Welsh language through social networks such as Facebook. Although the studies above show that English undermines the status of the Arabic and Welsh languages in the virtual environment, the state of Arabic differs significantly from that of the Welsh language in that Arabic is spoken at least in 25 countries whereas Welsh, according to the Welsh Language Board, is spoken by only 21.7% of the population of Wales[37].

Cunliffe (2007) and Cunliffe and Harries (2005) suggest that CMC offers opportunities to maintain and even to revitalize minority languages. But to do so, minority websites must have creative producers in order to compete with the majority language websites. Minority language website designers must also have access to the latest and most creative technology to maintain and support the online presence of their minority language in the bilingual market (Cunliffe and Harries 2005; Cunliffe 2007). Although it appears that CMC has helped to spread the use of the Welsh language among a growing number of Welsh people, the dynamics of the power relations between

[37] See the 2004 Welsh Language Use Survey at: http://www.byig-wlb.org.uk/English/publications/Publications/4068.pdf. Date of Access November 5, 2011.

majority and minority languages practically ensure that the capital of the minority language is unlikely to be changed in the linguistic market.

However, the Druze linguistic situation provides a different type of case study since Arabic, the first language of Druze in Israel, is neither a revitalized language as in the Welsh case, nor is Hebrew, unlike English, a global language. The relationship between Arabic and Hebrew in the Israeli context is that the two languages are not considered of equal value, and each one has a different capital in the Israeli linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991). Bourdieu (1982, 1991) argues that a population's language choice is based on the capital, or value of a particular language in the linguistic market. This theoretical notion holds true in Israel, where Hebrew is the language of the majority and dominant group, and Arabic is the language of the minority, or those with less power (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006). Because of this inequality, I expect that the power relations between the linguistic communities in Israel will influence the language choices of the Druze websites' owners, their advertisers and the users of the Druze websites in Israel. The influence of these power relations in Israel is much more widespread than in the cases of the young Egyptian professionals using English and the Welsh speakers who hope to spread the use of that language. Druze are educated in Hebrew from third grade, exposed intensively to Hebrew during their three years of service in the Israeli army, and the majority of male Druze work in the security services. Therefore, the Israeli linguistic market dynamics are more likely to influence entire communities whose citizens are acutely aware of the power relation between the majority and minority languages.

Yet, based on the findings of chapter three, I expect that the language choice of the website's designers, as well as that of the contributors to the selected websites, may vary between the two selected areas, Mount Carmel and Yarka. To be more specific, I expect that the virtual relationship between the Druze and the Jewish-Israeli and the Palestinian-Israeli communities will reflect the economic and linguistic relationships between Druze communities and non-Druze towns in a given area. In the Mount Carmel area, with its high level of contact with Jewish Israelis and Hebrew native speakers as well as the economic dependence of the local market on Jewish-Israeli consumers, Hebrew will likely be the language of production offered by the websites' owners and advertisers; at the same time Hebrew will likely be the language of consumption of the users in this area.

In contrast to those in the Mount Carmel area, Druze from the Lower Galilee are situated in an area largely inhabited by Palestinian-Israelis. Although the two Druze towns of Lower Galilee, Yarka and Julis, are located side by side and share the same culture, they have very different economies. Yarka offers one of the largest shopping centers in the Lower Galilee, one that attracts a variety of customers from neighboring Palestinian-Israeli towns, as well as a significant number of Jewish-Israeli customers. However, Julis's local market is very limited and offers only essential goods and services. Due to this socioeconomic structural difference one would not expect Hebrew to have a greater value than Arabic in the Lower Galilee linguistic market. Arabic is

much more likely to be the language of production in the Lower Galilee area, and the one chosen by local website owners to address their audience.

The findings of Chapter Two clearly show that teenagers and young people demonstrate a more positive attitude toward Hebrew than any other age group. I anticipate, therefore, that items that focus on the interests of young people will hold more appeal for this group if they are presented in Hebrew rather than Arabic.

4.2 Data and Methodology

This study involves data from six local Druze websites, http://www.karmel.co.il/ (henceforth Karmel), http://www.hona.co.il (henceforth Hona), http://www.bladna.co.il/ (henceforth Bladna[38]) from the Carmel area and http://www.wen.co.il/ (henceforth Wen), http://www.almadar.co.il/ (henceforth Al-Madar) and http://www.myjulis.co.il/ (henceforth My-Julis) from the Yarka area. The data was collected online from the websites. I had originally planned to interview the website owners in addition to the online data in order to include their perspectives on language choice, and I attempted several times to contact them. Unfortunately, only one of six website owners was willing to cooperate, and so I had to abandon this part of the research.

[38] I chose to transliterate the word Baladnā (our town/country) as Bladna , omitting the short vowel 'a' and the long vowel 'ā', since this is how it appears in the URL of the Baladnā website.

Since there are a large number of Druze websites in Israel[39], I decided to focus only on websites that represent the two major Druze locations in Israel: the Mt. Carmel area, represented by the two neighboring towns Dāliyat al-Carmel and ʻIsifya (henceforth the Carmel area), and the area of the two neighboring towns of Yarka and Julis (henceforth the Yarka area) in the Lower Galilee. Dāliyat al-Carmel and Yarka are the largest Druze towns in Israel, and in the Yarka and Carmel areas combined, there are 43,200 Druze, 40.5% of the total number of Druze in Israel[40].

The Karmel, Hona and Bladna websites are all public websites that rely heavily on local advertising, and are operated by managers from the Carmel area. None of these websites represents a governmental or municipal entity. The Karmel website focuses primarily on domestic news and matters of interest to the Mt. Carmel area, and while it features some global developments, the focus is primarily on local political and educational matters, as well as Druze religious events. It deals mostly with topics of interest to adults and educated individuals, such as local politics, local figures of interest, and the struggle over Druze lands in the Carmel area. Less common on this website compared to others are topics related to popular culture.

Like Karmel, the Hona website also focuses on local matters of the Carmel area and on matters of general interest to the Druze community in Israel. It also incorporates topics

[39] The majority of the available Druze websites are those designed for a specific domain, such as school websites. In this study I chose not to include this type of website, but rather chose those that deal with topics of interest to an entire community or with Druze matters in general.
[40] Central Bureau of Statistics, special report announced to the public on April 26, 2011: http://www.cbs.gov.il/hodaot2011n/11_11_092b.pdf . Date of access October 7, 2011 .

related to popular culture such as music, celebrity news, video clips and photo galleries, the kind of topics likely to attract young people and teenagers, as well as general audiences.

Similarly, the Bladna website is primarily focused on local matters of the Carmel area. The website maintains sections on local news, schools, weddings, local writers, and a section called "the archive of our town." This website tends to focus on topics that target the local social life and cultural aspects of the general public of the Carmel area. The difference between the Bladna website and the other Mount Carmel websites, Karmel and Hona, is that Bladna focuses on local culture and tradition, therefore I expect that Arabic will dominate the language production of this website. Conversely, I expect that Hebrew will be featured prominently in the other two websites.

This study examined three local websites of the Yarka area, Wen, Al-Madar and MyJulis. All three are public websites that are operated by local managers from the towns of Yarka and Julis. The MyJulis website primarily targets the general public and focuses on local matters of importance to the Druze in the town of Julis, with some general topics on Druze matters in Israel. The website also features information on such topics as politics, education, computers, music and games.

The Wen and Al-Madar websites are operated by Druze managers from the town of Yarka, but neither one deals solely with local issues or with matters of interest to the Druze in Israel. Both websites focus on topics of interest to the Palestinian general public in Israel, but in particular, those living in the Galilean towns of Julis, Kafr Yasif, Abu

Sinan, Al-Jidayda-Makr, Majd Al-Kuroom, and Nahaf. The two websites differ slightly in orientation: Examination of the headlines of Al-Madar's homepage reveals that the dominant topics have to do with local news of various kinds, for example, celebrity news, sports, shopping, schools, and local criminal activity. The Wen website seems to focus primarily on entertainment, featuring such topics as music, horoscopes, movies, sports, TV shows and news of the Arab and international celebrities. Based on the findings of chapter three which showed that the Druze community in the lower Galilee is tied to the local linguistic market rather than to the Jewish-Israeli market, I anticipate that Arabic will dominate the language production of the Wen and Al-Madar websites.

The data set was collected over two different periods, the first from March 23 to 31, 2011, and the second from July 10 to 18, 2011, and consists of (a) a full screenshot of each website's homepage as well as the main subsections found in each of the websites; and (b) an asynchronous communication of online reactions and talkbacks, as well as congratulation announcements.

In the first part of the analysis, I will examine the overall bilingual design of the homepages and the main secondary pages of the selected websites in order to determine the presence of the two languages. I will also explore the types of mechanisms provided by the websites that allow users to make a language choice.

To assess the bilingual aspect of the Druze websites, I will focus on the design of the Druze websites' homepages, the first one being the point of entry of each website. Cunliffe et al. (2002) identify three types of entry points found on bilingual websites:

The first type is a *splash page* which directs users to choose between two homepages, each in a different language. This type of entry gives equal representation to each of the two languages and allows the user to choose between them. The second type is a *monoglot homepage* containing a link to a homepage in another language. With this type of entry point the user is given the opportunity to view the website in the language of his/her choosing, however the website's designers may be seen as granting preferred status to the language of the monoglot homepage. For this option to be featured on a Druze website would reflect an underlying positive attitude toward the monoglot homepage language and serve to increase its value in the linguistic market.

The third entry point design features *bilingual pages* in which material on the homepage is presented in both languages. This type of entry point seems to give equal representation to the two languages, but may also be a function of the status quo and the dynamics of the linguistic market, in which the languages have different capital.

A website owner's choice of one type of entry point over the others reflects his or her reading of the linguistic market and the consumption values of the involved languages. It also indicates the owner's differential attitude toward the languages involved.

Assessing the scope of the presence of the languages used in the selected websites will provide insight as to the language choices of the websites' owners, as well as those of the users who contribute their opinions and literary works. In the second part of this study, I will examine the language choice of the Druze Internet users' asynchronous communication in both their reactions to online items and their congratulation

announcements. This examination will focus on whether or not the two languages, Arabic and Hebrew, are equally present in these materials.

4.3 Findings and Analysis

The analysis will be divided into two major sections, one dealing with language production, or the language in which owners and advertisers choose to present their material and attract customers. The other section focuses on language consumption, the language that the Druze users choose to post in different subsections of the Druze websites. The language production and consumption materials will be broken down by area. The Mount Carmel area's websites consist of the Karmel, Hona and Bladna websites, and the Yarka area websites, which include Al-Madar, Wen and My-Julis websites. Classifying the data into two geographical areas will reveal differences in the language production and consumption of the websites of the two areas as impacted by the local linguistic market. Moreover, this classification will provide insight into the differences in language production and consumption between the websites within each area as determined by the anticipated audience.

4.3.1 Language Choice and Homepage Design of the Carmel Area's Websites

In this section, I analyze language production on Karmel, Hona and Bladna, the selected Druze websites of the Mount Carmel area. Assessment of the bilingual design of the homepage layout of these websites reveals that none of the three has provided a mechanism for choosing between Hebrew or Arabic as a point of entry, such as a splash

page or a monoglot homepage. Each of the three websites uses a bilingual homepage, but it does not provide the same content in both languages. The scope and presence of each language is different from one website to another. The scope and presence of Hebrew is more significant than Arabic on the Karmel and Hona websites, whereas on the Bladna website the opposite is true.

Let us look first at the screenshots of the Karmel website homepage from July 10 2011:

Figure 4.1: Karmel Homepage's Screenshots

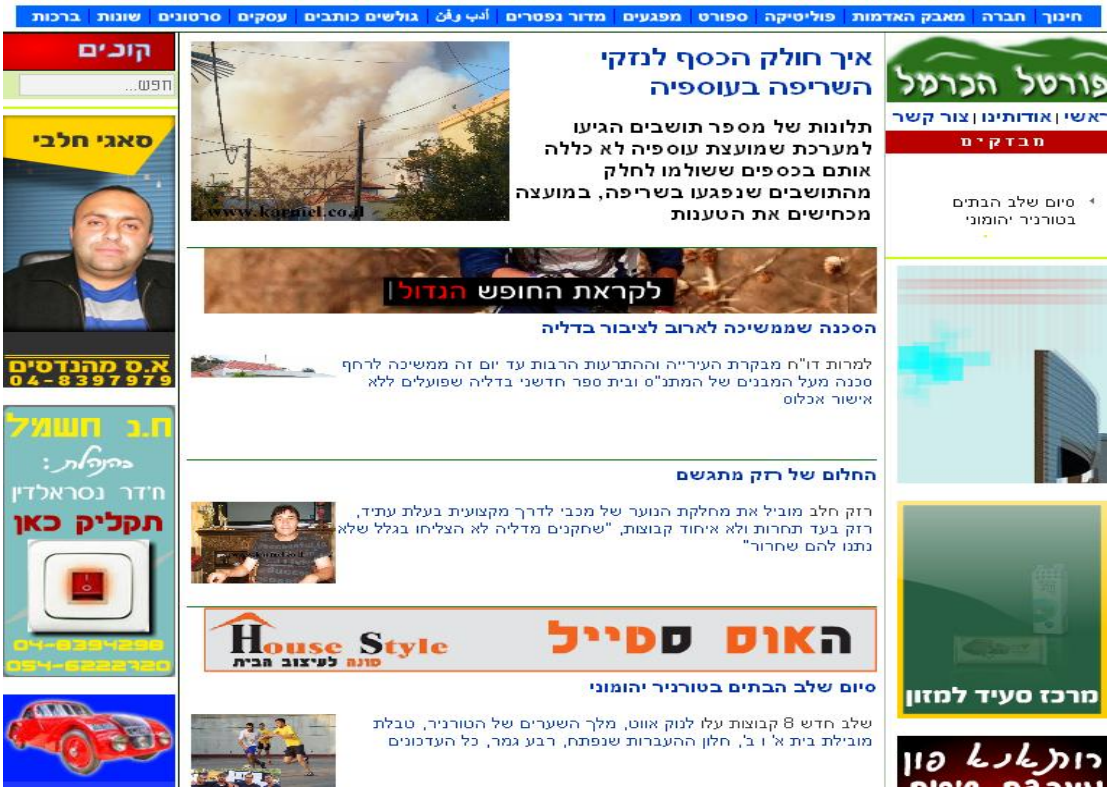


Figure 4.1(cont.): Karmel Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.1(cont.): Karmel Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.1 (cont.): Karmel Homepage's Screenshots

As expected, in the above images Hebrew is the first language of the Karmel website. All of the main button links at the top and the bottom of the homepage are in Hebrew, except the button marked "Literature and Art - أدب وفن" which is in Arabic. Breaking

news, weather and broadcasting map, and the internal search engine are all in Hebrew. The website maintains online surveys with multiple answers. An examination of the 100 most recent surveys indicates that they were all written in Hebrew[41]. Most of the advertisements are also in Hebrew, with only a small number of them in Arabic,[42] but some of the articles in the website's subsections were titled in Arabic. The language choice of these materials will be thoroughly examined in the second part of this section.

The linguistic layout of the Hona homepage is slightly different from that of the Karmel website. Although Hebrew dominates the layout of the Hona website, Arabic is still present, as seen in the following screenshots taken on July 10, 2011:

Figure 4.2: Hona Homepage's Screenshots

[41] The surveys are not dated therefore the starting point of the statistics for this section was the survey titled in Hebrew "אם היו מתקיימים בחירות היום באיזה תנועה תבחר?" The most recent survey of the collection was found on July 10 2011.

[42] A detailed discussion of the language choice of the advertisements will follow.

Figure 4.2 (cont.): Hona Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.2(cont.): Hona Homepage's Screenshots

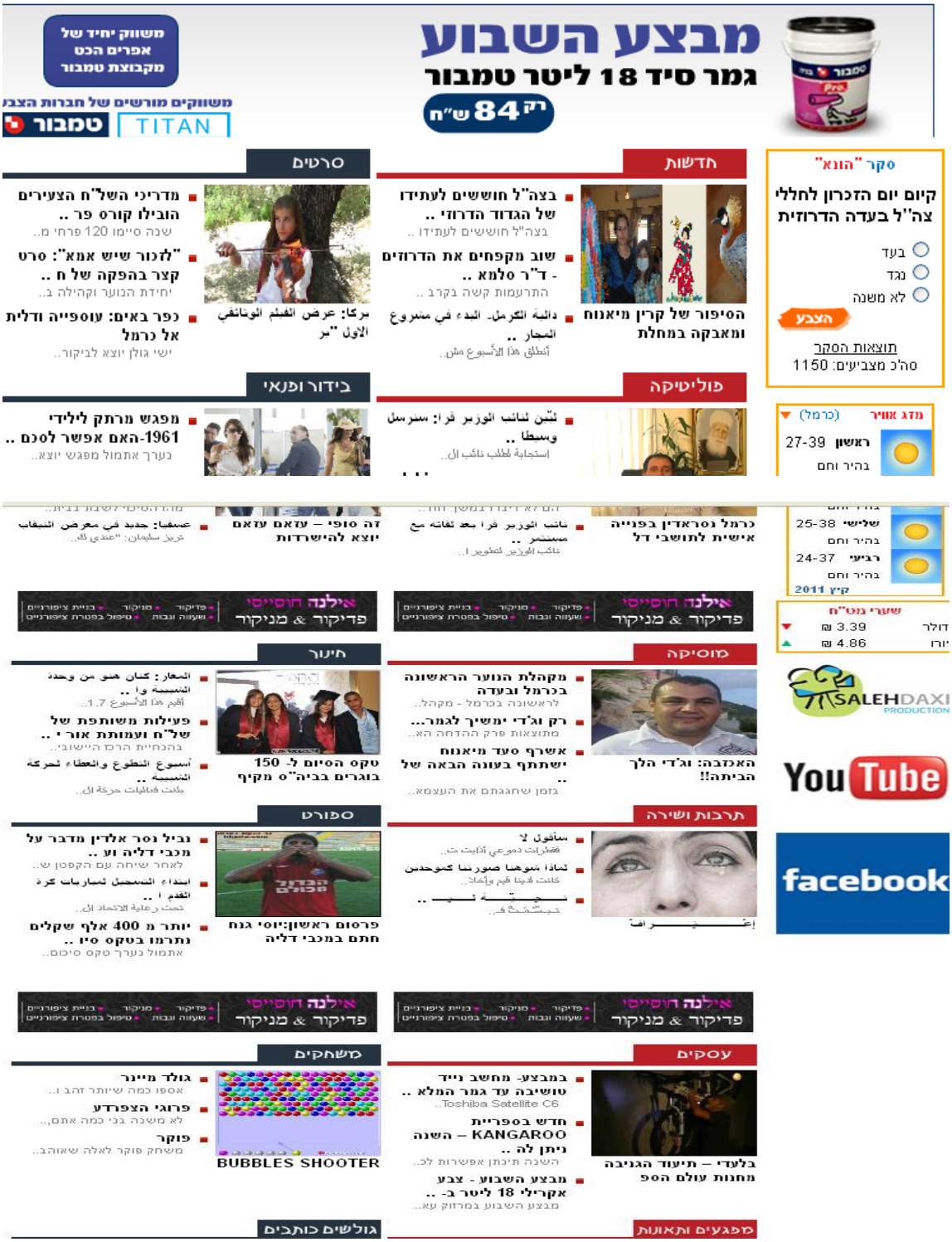


Figure 4.2 (cont.): Hona Homepage's Screenshots

As is evident in the screenshots, Hebrew is also the first language of the Hona website. The general design of the homepage, main button links at the top and bottom, subsection titles, date, search engine, website survey design[43], breaking news, weather and broadcasting map, and currency rates are all in the Hebrew language. Arabic is

[43] Out of 63 online surveys with multiple answers dated from July 13 2011, there was one survey in Arabic, all the other surveys were in Hebrew.

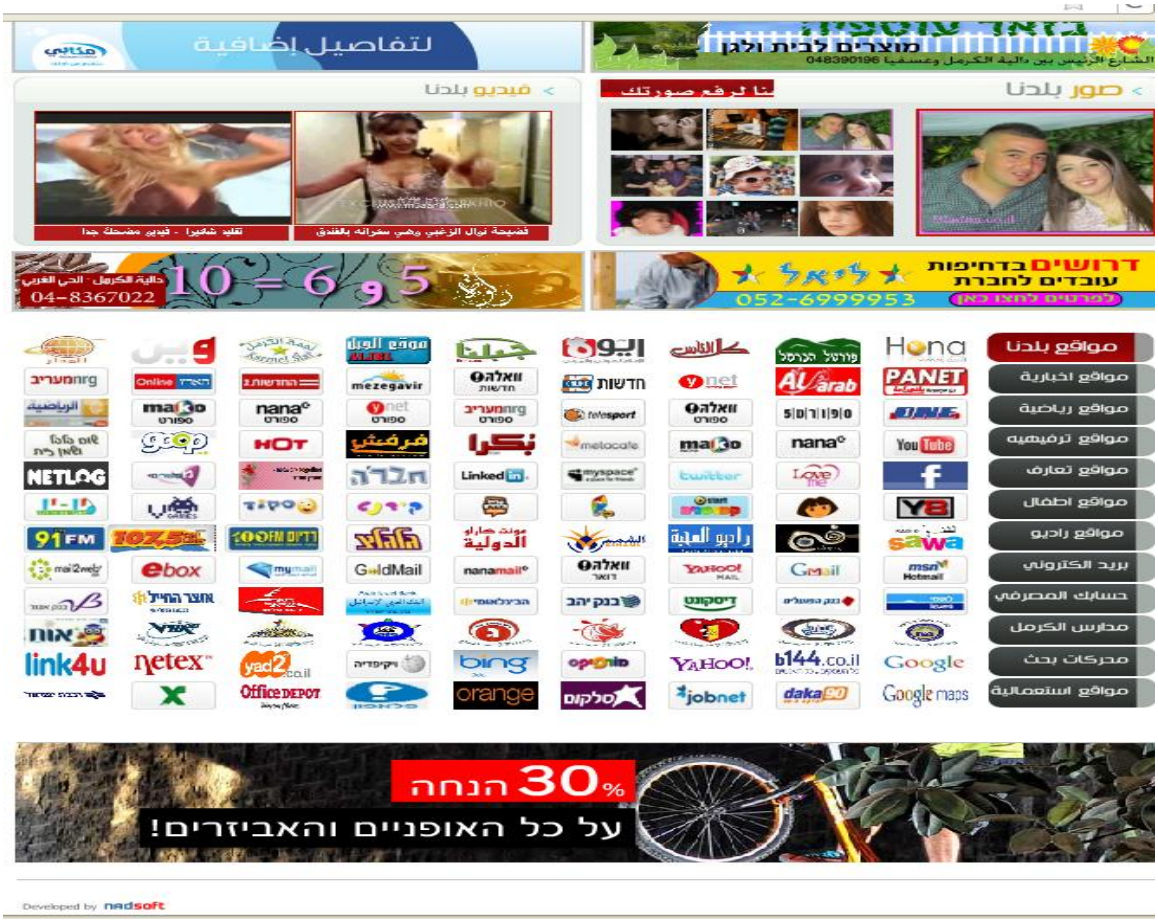
represented in only four news headlines out of seven, in some advertisements, and links to the articles in the subsections such as the "Culture and Poetry" section. English is also represented in some advertisements and as an image link to social networks such as Facebook.

As for the Bladna website, the third example from the Carmel area, examination of the homepage reveals that Arabic is the first language of this website as can be seen in the following screenshots of the homepage taken on July 10, 2011:

Figure 4.3: Bladna Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.3(cont.): Bladna Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.3 (cont.): Bladna Homepage's Screenshots



These images reveal that the main button links, subsection title links, congratulation announcements, and internal search engine are in Arabic only, however the name of the website appears in both Arabic and English. Hebrew and English appear on the homepage only in some of the advertisements, in some of the congratulation announcements posted by the users, and in the links to other websites at the bottom of the homepage.

The results of this examination indicate that there are two different patterns, in that the owners of Hona and Karmel significantly chose Hebrew over Arabic as the language

of production on their homepages, while the owners of Bladna chose Arabic as their language of production. Thus, with the exception of Bladna, which diverges in its homepage language choice from the general pattern of the Mount Carmel area, these results are consistent with the initial expectations of this study, which is that Hebrew would be the preferred language of the websites in this area. The residents of the Mount Carmel area have a high level of language contact with Jewish-Israelis and native Hebrew speakers, as well as strong ties to the Jewish-Israeli economic market, and for these reasons, Mount Carmel area website owners believe that users will accept Hebrew, the language with the greater linguistic value, as the language of their websites.

Language production on the website of Bladna can be explained according to the difference in content, and the language attitudes examined in Chapter Two. The choice of Arabic as the language of production better convey cultural and traditional content to anticipated customers. Content such as "Our Town's Archive," "Our Town's Weddings," and "Our Town's Films" are strongly linked to local cultural and traditional domains. Because of this choice, we may conclude that the Bladna website's owners believe that Arabic still plays an important role in matters related to local identity, culture and tradition. The language production results obtained from the Karmel and Hona websites also align with the language attitudes found in Chapter Two, and together, these results indicate the association of the Hebrew language with nation-wide cultural and economic dynamics, and that of Arabic with local traditions and cultures.

4.3.2 Language Choice and Homepage Design of Yarka Area Websites

Three websites represent the Yarka area in this study, Al-Madar, Wen and My-Julis. The Al-Madar and Wen websites are both managed by locals from Yarka, and although the area residents are educated in Hebrew, the content of both websites is in Arabic due to the local linguistic dynamic and the anticipated audience. The names of the websites, the main button links, subsections' link titles, date and internal search engine are all in Arabic. Hebrew and English are represented on the homepages of the two websites only in the advertisements, as can be seen in the following images of the two websites' homepages, dated July 10, 2011:

Figure 4.4: Al-Madar Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.4 (cont.): Al-Madar Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.4 (cont.): Al-Madar Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.4 (cont.): Al-Madar Homepage's Screenshots

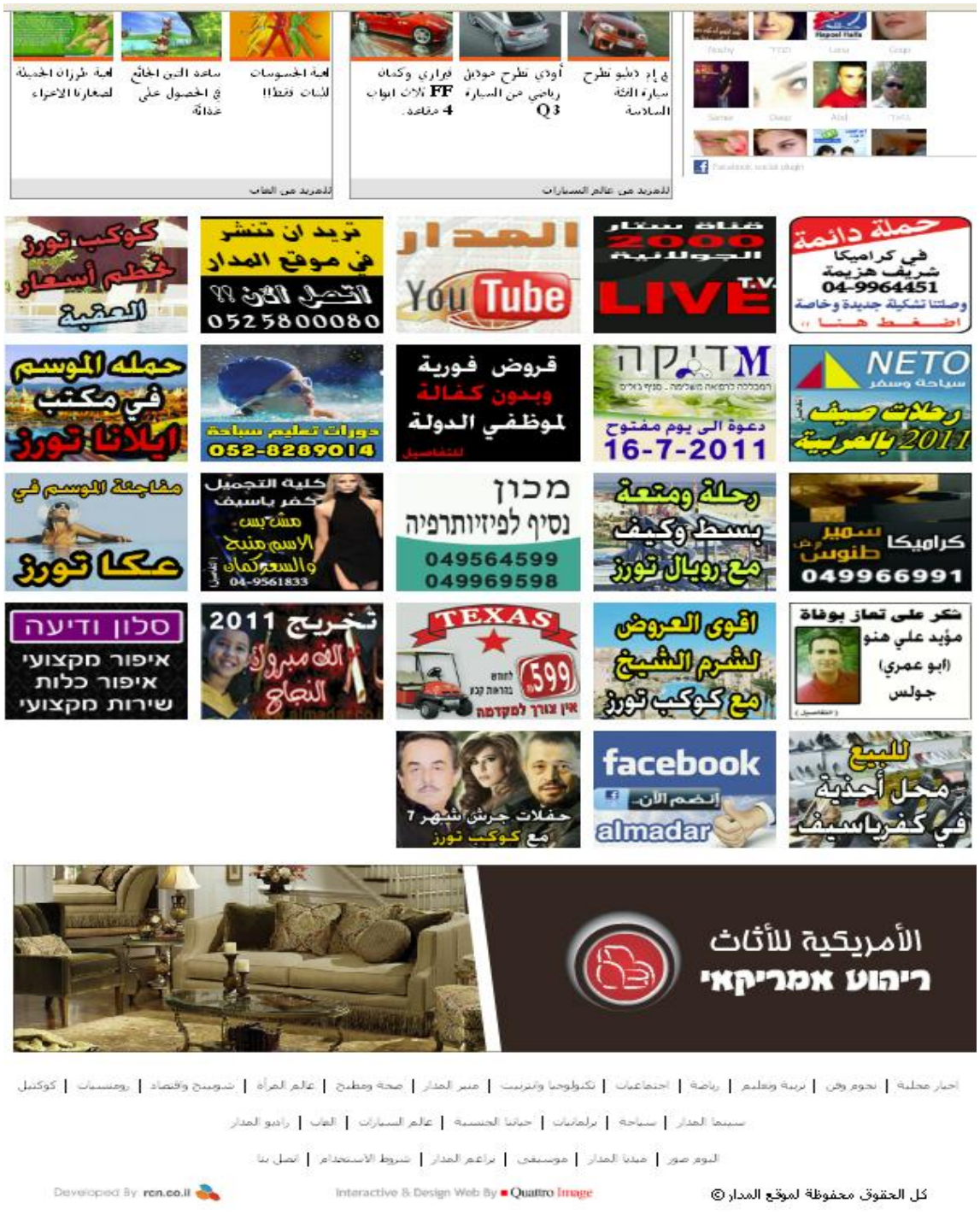
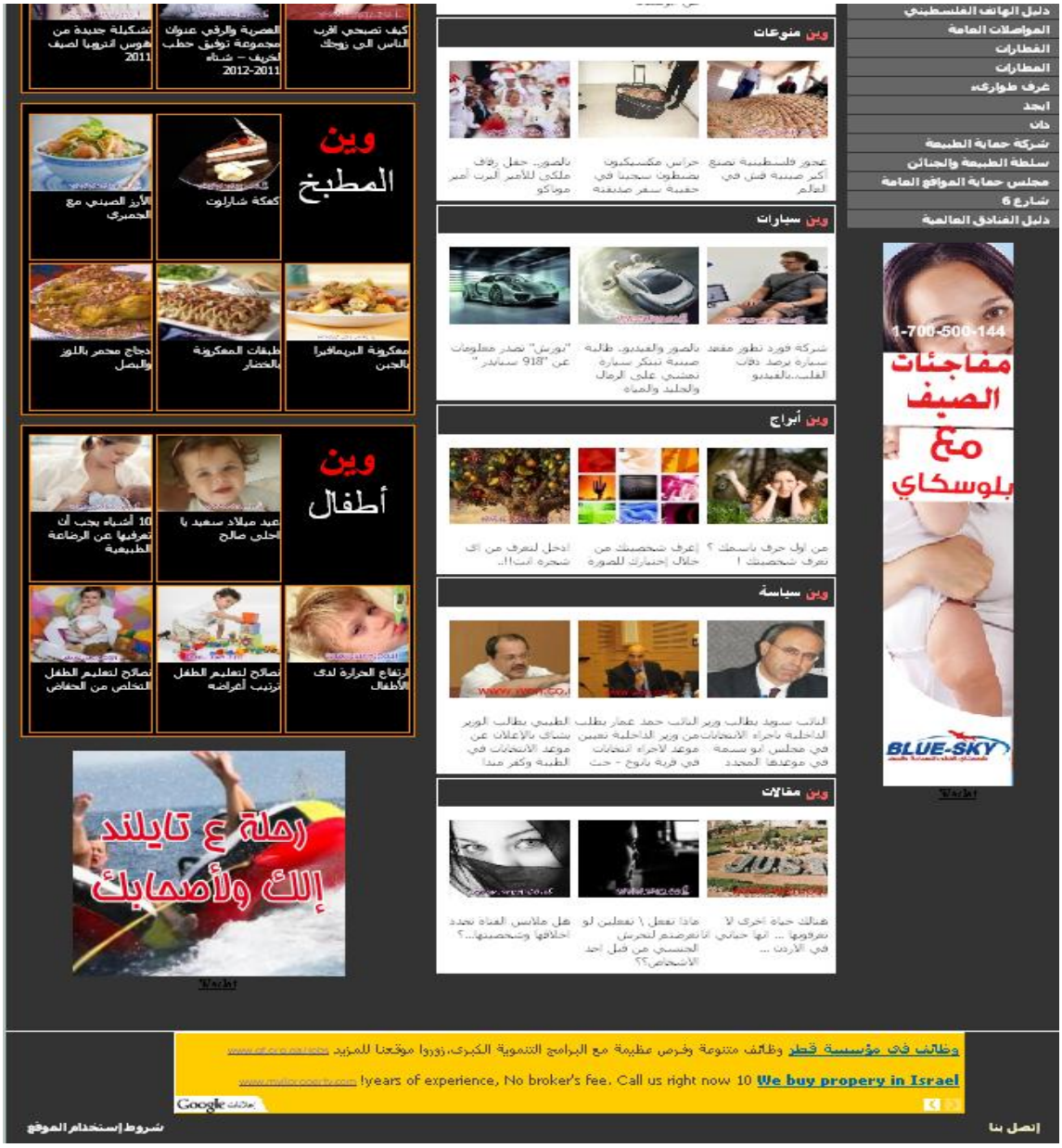


Figure 4.5: Wen Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.5 (cont.): Wen Homepage's Screenshots



The My-Julis website represents the town of Julis, a Druze community located in the same cultural zone with the neighboring town, Yarka. In My-Julis, all the main button links, located at the top of the homepage, subsection titles in the body of the homepage,

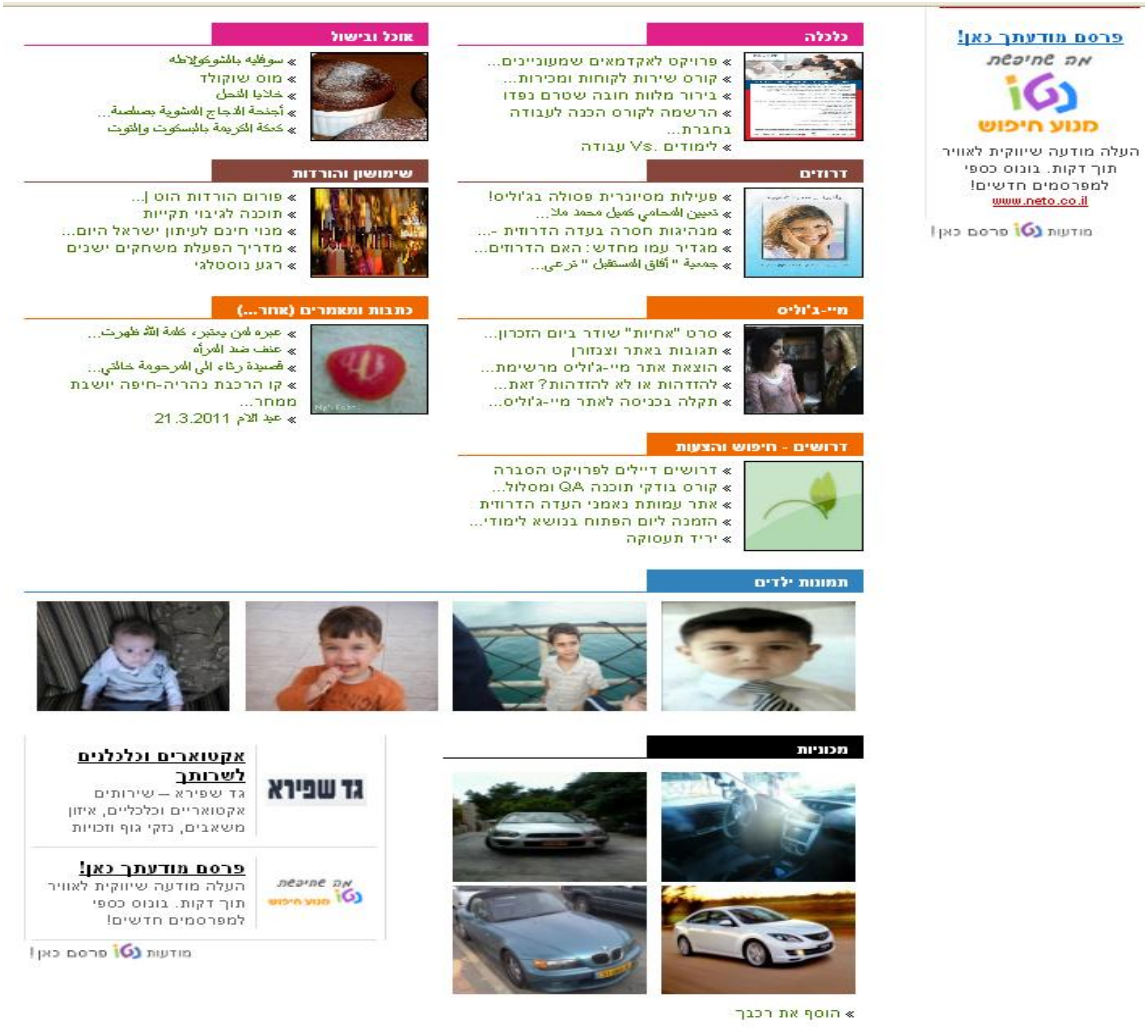
website surveys[44], internal search engine, weather broadcasting, and congratulation announcements are all in Hebrew. Arabic is represented in only one title regarding a sports day in one of the elementary schools of the town. Arabic appears in some of the links to Arabic articles in different subsections, and in some congratulation announcements posted by the users. All the advertisements on this website are in Hebrew. See the following full screenshots of the My-Julis website, which were taken on July 10, 2011:

Figure 4.6: My-Julis Homepage's Screenshots

[44] The My-Julis website maintains online surveys with multiple answers. These surveys are not dated, therefore the starting point of my statistics was from the most recent survey found on the date of access, July 13, 2011 the survey titled "**כמה את/ה מוכנ/ה לתרום בכפר**?" Of 100 surveys only one survey was in Arabic.

Figure 4.6 (cont.): My-Julis Homepage's Screenshots

Figure 4.6 (cont.): My-Julis Homepage's Screenshots



The results obtained from the Yarka area suggest that the owners of Al-Madar and Wen significantly chose Arabic over Hebrew as the language of consumption of their homepages, while the owners of My-Julis significantly chose Hebrew over Arabic. These results may be explained in terms of marketing in that the owners of Al-Madar and Wen have chosen Arabic as their language of production to reach potential customers in the Druze and Palestinian-Israeli communities of the Galilee area. The language choices of

these two websites can be attributed to audience design considerations as they are primarily interested in attracting the Palestinian-Israeli public[45]. On the other hand, the My-Julis website owners have chosen Hebrew to be the language of their website primarily because My-Julis addresses only the community of Julis, and the owners expect that Hebrew will better convey their marketing messages to residents who they believe hold a more positive opinion of Hebrew than of Arabic.

Similar findings emerge from analysis of the electronic forms created by the owners of the websites. The examination included various types of electronic forms featured on each website such as "contact us," "register with us," "chat room registration," "adding reaction" and "adding congratulations." Two websites from the Carmel area, Karmel and Hona, feature all of their electronic forms in Hebrew, while Bladna, the third website in this area, maintains its forms in Arabic. In the Yarka area, the websites Wen and Al-Madar maintain all their electronic forms in Arabic, while the third one from this area, My-Julis, features all of its electronic ready forms in Hebrew.

4.3.3 Summary: Language Choice of Websites' Owners

General analysis of the linguistic design of the selected websites' homepages indicates that the socioeconomic context and the potential audience determines the language of these websites. The owners of three websites, two of which are from the Carmel area, the Karmel and Hona websites, and a third one from the Yarka area, the

[45] The Audience Design theory is based on the idea that speakers design their speech according to what they believe the audience expects to hear (See Bell 1984).

My-Julis website, appear to expect that users will be more responsive to Hebrew content than to Arabic. The owners of the other three websites, the Wen and Al-Madar websites from the Yarka area, and the Bladna website from the Mount Carmel area, seem to expect that their users will be more accepting of Arabic content.

The three websites, Karmel, Hona, and My-Julis share some characteristics that may explain these results. The Karmel and My-Julis websites target primarily local audience in the towns, Dāliyat al-Carmel, ‘Isifya and Julis. The Hona website focuses on local matters of the Carmel area and on matters of general interest to the Druze community in Israel. One may conclude that the owners of the Karmel, Hona and My-Julis websites assume that Hebrew better conveys their marketing messages because they believe that Hebrew enjoys greater value in the Carmel area market and Druze linguistic marketplace. This belief is due, in part, to the area's socioeconomic relations with the Jewish-Israeli market, but also because they perceive the attitude of local residents toward Hebrew as a market language to be more positive than it is toward Arabic. The choice of Hebrew, the dominant and prestigious language, is an expression of identification among these Druze website owners with non-local flows of modernity, finance and culture.

Arabic seems to be the choice on the other three websites, two of which are from the Yarka area, and one from the Carmel area. The Yarka area websites, Al-Madar and Wen, are operated by managers from the Yarka area in the Lower Galilee. Although Wen and Al-Madar both originate in Yarka, their target audience is the general Palestinian

community in the Galilee, and there is an assumption that Arabic will better convey their marketing messages to this audience in this area.

The website owners' assessment of potential audience attitudes may thus explain why the owners of the Yarka websites, Wen and Al-Madar chose to present their websites in Arabic, as well as the reason the Hona and Karmel website owners chose Hebrew as the language of their websites. Yarka, as I noted earlier, is located in the center of Lower Galilee, and is a major business center drawing customers from neighboring Palestinian towns. The Druze towns in the Carmel area are surrounded by Jewish-Israeli towns and maintain intensive language contact and business relations with the Jewish-Israeli market.

However, it seems that the factors of location and target audience cannot explain the results obtained from an examination of the Bladna website, the third website from the Carmel area. Because of its location, one would expect that Hebrew would be the choice of the designers of the Bladna website. It appears that the choice of Arabic as the language of the website's materials is directly related to the content offered, content that is strongly linked to a culture and heritage that resists replacing Arabic with Hebrew. Because of this, Bladna's owners may expect that users will find that Arabic represents traditional and cultural content better than Hebrew does. The choice of Arabic on the Bladna website is in line with the overall positive attitudes of the Druze community toward Arabic as a medium of popular culture and Druze heritage as the findings of chapter two showed. Examination of the language choice used in different subsections of

the Bladna website will shed light on the reasons behind the choice of Arabic as the first language of the website.

4.3.4 Language Choice in Items Posted by Website Owners

Having established that the designers of each website show a marked preference for one language or the other on their homepages based on their assessment of audience attitudes and the market capital of each language, I will, in this section, examine the scope of language choice in the items posted by the owners in the website's subsections. I will also examine the scope of language choice in the advertisements.

The secondary pages and subsections of the selected websites posted by owners and advertisers were also examined in this study. One hundred posts, dated July 11, 2011 and earlier, were examined from each subsection, and in cases where there were less than 100 posts, all the items were subject to examination.

4.3.4.1 Language Production Items Posted on the Carmel Area's Websites

To recall, the Carmel area includes three websites, Karmel, Hona and Al-Madar. Hebrew dominates the homepage layouts of the Karmel and Hona websites, Arabic dominates the homepage layout of the Bladna website. The Karmel website contains the following main subsections: Education, Society, Struggle over the Land, Politics, Sports,

Injuries, Businesses, Videos and Miscellaneous[46]. The website also maintains a section for obituaries, a large number of which were written by the website staff sharing their condolences with local families. Obituaries written by the users will not be discussed in this section. The website also maintains a section titled "Literature and Art" which is devoted to the creative writing of local authors; this subsection will be examined in the users' contributions section.

Examination of the subsections revealed that Hebrew was significantly dominant in all sections except in the obituaries and video sections. The following Table summarizes the results:

[46] The original headers: חינוך, חברה, מאבק אדמות, פוליטיקה, ספורטת מפגעים, מדור נפטרים, أدب وفن, גולשים כותבים, עסקים, סרטונים, שונות , ברכות.

Table 4.1: Language choice across the Karmel website's subsections

	Language of the title and content		
	Arabic	Hebrew	English
Subsections			
Education	5%	95%	0%
Society	3%	97%	0%
Struggle over the Lands	2%	98%	0%
Injuries	0%	100%	0%
Politics	2%	98%	0%
Sports	0%	100%	0%
Businesses	1%	99%	0%
Obituaries	**63%**	**27%**	**0%**
Miscellaneous	9%	91%	0%
	Language of the title		
	Arabic	Hebrew	English
Subsection			
Videos	21%	76%	3%

As can be seen from the Tables above, Hebrew is the choice of the Karmel website's owners in all sections with one significant exception, the obituaries posts. It seems that in

the intimate context of sharing grief with other Druze in the community, the Karmel website owners chose Arabic as the language of production. However, even at a 63% majority, the percentage of Arabic obituaries is hardly overwhelming; more than one third of website users chose Hebrew to express sentiments of grief and sorrow. The choice of Arabic on the website in intimate and emotional contexts matches the findings of language attitudes found in chapter two, in which the participants expressed overall positive attitudes toward Arabic when presented with items of an emotional or intimate nature.

With regard to videos, 76% of them were found to be titled in Hebrew only, 21% had only Arabic titles and the rest of the titles were a combination of Arabic or Hebrew with English. The content of the videos is presented in different languages, with 61% of the total number of the videos presented in Arabic, and 33% presented in Hebrew. Videos in which both title and content are in Arabic are primarily music and song videos or Syrian TV shows such as Bāb el-Hāra or Al-khawālī. These findings indicate that although the content of these videos is in Arabic and imported from the Arab world, the owners of the Karmel website are consistent in their expectation that videos titled in Hebrew would be more likely to attract and draw the attention of wider range of viewers than videos titled in Arabic. However, content related to popular culture such as Arabic TV shows are presented in Arabic, indicating that the Karmel website's owners are aware of the fact that the Druze hold a positive attitude toward Arabic popular culture, as shown in chapter

two. We can conclude therefore, that they have chosen the language of their website to match the language attitudes of their anticipated audience.

The data presented in the previous section suggested that the website owners of Karmel website overwhelmingly chose to use Hebrew for their homepages, and the results of the subsection analysis are in line with the homepage design findings, with the exception of the obituaries section. The Karmel website owners seem to have chosen Arabic because they believe the majority of viewers in the Mount Carmel area will be more accepting of Arabic than of other language choices in local cultural content such as obituaries.

With regard to the scope of language choice in the subsections of Hona website, the second website from Mount Caramel area, the following Table presents the data obtained from the main subsections of the Hona website:

Table 4.2: Language Choice Across the Subsections of the Hona Website

	Language of the title and content		
	Arabic	Hebrew	English
Subsections			
News	21%	79%	0%
Entertainments & Leisure	42%	58%	0%
Politics	37%	63%	0%
Sports	10%	90%	0%
Music	37%	63%	0%
Education	38%	62%	0%
Businesses[47]	6%	96%	0%
Game[48]	0	80%	20%
Paparazzi	13%	87%	0%
Picture of local events	2%	99%	0%
	Language of the title		
	Arabic	Hebrew	English
Subsection			
Videos	19%	74%	7%

[47] In the Businesses section there were only 68 posts as of July 11, 2011.
[48] In the Games section there were only 10 posts as of July 11, 2011. Eighty percent of these were in Hebrew and 20% in English

As seen in the above Table, the Hona website's owners have also chosen to feature the content of the website's subsections in Hebrew. Hebrew is the preferred choice in the subsections of Sports, Businesses, Games, Paparazzi[49] and Picture Gallery of local events, all of which are local Druze productions except the Games and Videos subsections[50]. The findings in the Sports, Businesses and Games subsections of the Hona website are similar to those found on the Karmel website from the same area. The owners of this website, like those of Karmel website examined in the previous section, seem to expect that their audience prefers to view these specific subsections in Hebrew rather than in Arabic since they are related to non-local networks and not to local culture.

The Paparazzi and the Pictures sections share a common feature in that they both target the teenage audience and their interests. The Paparazzi section is produced by local Druze, and deals with topics of interest to young people. The Pictures collection includes coverage of a variety of social and religious local events, such as religious gatherings, and soldiers' funerals and memorials; however the most dominant topic is the coverage of local school graduation ceremonies and school activities. We may conclude that the Hona website's owners expect that younger Druze are receptive to viewing online materials that are written in Hebrew rather in Arabic. The Hona website owners' expectations are in line with the findings of chapter two, in that the younger generation identifies more strongly with modern and non-local culture and the language that

[49] The Paparazzi section appears in the secondary pages, and not on the homepage.
[50] The original headers: חדשות, בידור ופנאי, פוליטיקה, ספורט, מוסיקה, חינוך, תרבות ושירה, גולשים כותבים, עסקים, משחקים, פפראצי, סרטונים, ברכות, גלרית תמונות, תמונות גולשים.

represents it than with local and traditional culture and the language that represents it, in this case Arabic.

Hebrew was also the preferred choice of language by Hona owners in the News section, with 79% of the items in Hebrew and only 21% in Arabic. Similarly, in the Politics section 63% of the items were in Hebrew as opposed to 37% in Arabic. Hebrew also prevails in the Education and Music sections, where approximately 63% of the items in the two sections were in Hebrew, but only about 38% of the items were in Arabic.

In the section titled Entertainment and Leisure, the gap between Hebrew and Arabic is the smallest. This section includes a variety of topics related to entertainment and leisure that appeal to different audiences, such as summer camps, high school reunions, survival shows, music shows, and horse riding competitions. This section covers topics from various local Druze locations and most of the posts are locally produced. The non-local posts are copied either in Hebrew or in Arabic without mentioning the source of the item in most of the cases, and one may argue that copying non-local items does not represent the actual language preference of the website's owners. However, the fact that the owners are selective and aware of the audiences' preferences, attitudes and language consumption preference as we have seen previously in findings of this chapter, supports the notion that the owners' choice of non-local items correlates with their language preference and their understanding of linguistic market dynamics.

Overall, the data on the subsections suggests that the scope of Hebrew is greater than that of Arabic, that is, the owners of the Hona website overwhelmingly choose to present

their content in Hebrew rather than in Arabic. These results are consistent with those obtained from the analysis of the website's homepage design.

The findings of the third website from Mount Caramel, the Bladna website, show a clear difference of language choice in the subsections in comparison with the other two Mount Carmel area websites, Karmel and Hona. The comparison of the use of Hebrew to that of Arabic in the main sections of the Bladna website revealed a different picture than that of the Karmel and Hona websites. As expected, Arabic, which dominates the traditional and local culture, is significantly preferred over Hebrew by the Bladna website's owners in the design of the main subsections of the website:

Table 4.3: Language choice across the Bladna websites subsections

subsections	Arabic	Hebrew
Our town's news	84%	16%
News of Celebrities	100%	0%
Our town's weddings [51]	90%	10%
Our town's Schools[52]	96%	4%
Sports[53]	86.3%	13.7%
Horoscopes[54]	100%	0%
Young girls and boys[55]	98.8%	1.2%
Bladna archive[56]	95.84%	4.16%

[51] The sample included the total collection of this section with 40 items.
[52] The sample included the total collection of this section with 74 items
[53] The sample included the total collection of this section with 73 items
[54] The sample included the total collection of this section with 42 items
[55] The sample included the total collection of this section with 89 items
[56] The sample included the total collection of this section with 48 items

Looking at the content of Bladna's subsections, a clear difference emerges when comparing them with the other two Mount Carmel websites, Karmel and Hona. The subsections of both Hona and Karmel contain materials such as Politics, News, Businesses, Education and Videos that deal with local and general matters of the Druze community in Israel, and most are local Druze productions, whereas Bladna's subsections contain only materials related to the Mount Carmel area. Hebrew appeared only minimally in Bladna subsections such as "Our Town's Schools," "Bladna Archive," "Our Town's Weddings," and "Our Town's News."[57] Bladna subsections generally focus on female-oriented matters such as "News of the Celebrities," "Horoscopes," and "Young Girls and Boys," and are copied from Arabic sources which are available on the internet, meaning that they are not local Druze productions[58].

The overall picture of the Bladna website indicates that these findings are consistent with the choice of language in the general design of the website in which Arabic is the preferred choice over Hebrew. It differs to a great extent however, from the language choice of the Carmel area's other websites, Karmel and Hona.

[57] The original headers: أخبار بلدنا, أخبار الفنانين, أفراح بلدنا, مدارس بلدنا, رياضة, أبراج, أقلام بلدنا, شباب وصبايا, أرشيف بلدنا, دليل بلدنا.

[58] I did a search in Google for a large sample of items and found that all of them were originally posted on Arabic websites.

4.3.4.2 Language Production Items Posted in the Yarka Area's Websites

This area, which represents the Lower Galilee, includes three websites Wen, Al-Madar and My-Julis. The examination of language production in the homepage layout of these websites revealed differences between the Wen and Al-Madar websites, and the My-Julis website. My expectation is that Arabic will dominate the language production of the items on the Wen and Al-Madar websites, whereas Hebrew will dominate the language production of the items on My-Julis. The Wen website will be examined first. The following table shows that Arabic is the language chosen by the Wen website's owners for the items of the main subsections. The only exception is the games section, in which the titles and game content are all in English. Recalling the findings of Hona's game subsection in which Hebrew and English are the only choices, the findings of the Wen website affirm that the domain of games is dominated by these two language choices. This is not surprising as there are no Arabic producers of such games:

Table 4.4: Language choice across the Wen website's subsections

	Language of title and content		
	Arabic	Hebrew	English
subsections			
News	100%	0%	0%
Songs	100%	0%	0%
Clip titles	100%	0%	0%
Sports	100%	0%	0%
Horoscopes [59]	100%	0%	0%
Games	0%	0%	100%
Schools	100%	0%	0%
Computer & Internet	100%	0%	0%
Cinema and TV	100%	0%	0%
Health	100%	0%	0%
Kitchen	100%	0%	0%
Women's corner	100%	0%	0%
Sciences and technology	100%	0%	0%
Tourism	100%	0%	0%

With regard to the second website from the Yarka area, Al-Madar, the examination of language choice in the main subsections revealed that Arabic is the language choice for these items. English is marginally represented in the subsections of Technology, Cars,

[59] There are only 12 items in this section.

Economy and Shopping. These results line up with the results that were obtained from the homepage language choice examination.

Table 4.5: Language choice across the Al-Madar website's subsections

Section	Arabic	Arabic-Hebrew	Arabic-English	Arabic-English-Hebrew
Local news	100%	0%	0%	0%
Stars & Art	100%	0%	0%	0%
Education & Teaching	100%	0%	0%	0%
Sports	100%	0%	0%	0%
Social Matters[60]	100%	0%	0%	0%
Technology	94%	0%	6%	0%
Schools	100%	0%	0%	0%
Health & Kitchen	100%	0%	0%	0%
Woman's World	100%	0%	0%	0%
Shopping & Economy	69%	4%	26%	1%
Romance	100%	0%	0%	0%
Cocktail	100%	0%	0%	0%
Photo Album	100%	0%	0%	0%
Cars' world	87%	0%	13%	0%
Games[61]	98%	0%	2%	0%
Horoscopes	100%	0%	0%	0%

[60] In this section there were only 12 items

[61] An Arabic description is attached to each game, yet the games are all in English language.

Examination of the My-Julis homepage revealed that Hebrew was found to be the significantly preferred choice for the homepage design, yet examination of the items in the main subsections of the website revealed a mixed picture as can be seen in the following table:

Table 4.6: Language choice across the My-Julis website's subsections

Section	Arabic	Hebrew	English	Arabic-Hebrew
Religious people[62]	36.4%	63.6%	0%	0%
Druze[63]	44%	53.6%	0%	2.4%
Sports[64]	35.7 %	64.3%	0%	0%
Social activity[65]	37.5%	55.16%	0%	7.32%
News	20%	73%	0%	7%
Science and Computer[66]	20%	77.5%	0%	2.5%
Travel	0%	0%	0%	0%
Attractions[67]	0%	60%	0%	40%
Politics[68]	15.75%	78%	0%	6.35%
Education	40%	49%	2%	8%
Environment[69]	25%	57%	0%	18%

[62] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 22 items.
[63] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 84 items.
[64] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 28 items.
[65] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 64 items.
[66] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 40 items.
[67] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 5 items.
[68] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 32 items.
[69] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 28 items.

Table 4.6 (cont.): Language choice across the My-Julis website's subsections

Section	Arabic	Hebrew	English	Arabic-Hebrew
Events[70]	25.5%	63.4%	0%	11.1%
Economics[71]	0%	97.25%	0%	2.75%
Leisure & Entertainments[72]	29%	71%	0%	0%
Cooking and food[73]	40%	50%	0%	10%
Julis	26%	65%	0%	9%
Games[74]	0%	41.5%	58.5%	0%

In subsections that may interest older viewers and are related to non-local culture such as News, Science and Computers, Politics, and Economics, Hebrew was decidedly the language choice. In the subsections that target local socio-cultural topics such as those titled Druze Education, and Cooking and Food, Hebrew was only slightly preferred over Arabic. A higher preference of Hebrew over Arabic was found in the Social Activity, Environment, Events, Leisure and Entertainment, and Julis subsections. English was found to be slightly preferred over Hebrew in the Games subsection.

Although the findings suggest that, in general, Hebrew is the choice of the subsections; these results revealed that the choice of language is also related to domain.

[70] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 90 items.
[71] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 36 items.
[72] The sample included the total collection of this subsection with 62 items.
[73] The sample included the total collection of this section with 20 items.
[74] The sample included the total collection of this section with 53 items.

The results suggest that in domains related to local tradition and cultural matters such as religion and food, Arabic is as significant as Hebrew, whereas in domains that represent more current and modern matters, Hebrew is the preferred choice. In other words, both the majority and minority languages fulfill important social and public functions, with the minority language dominating unofficial, traditional, and intimate communication, and the majority language dominating official and public discourse.

4.3.4.3 Summary of the Scope of Language Choice in the Subsections of the Yarka Area's Websites

In this section, the focus of the examination was on three websites representing the Lower Galilee area, Wen, Al-Madar and My-Julis. The content of the two websites of the town of Yarka, Wen and Al-Madar, is almost exclusively in Arabic, and this is true of the homepage design as well as the content of the subsections. While the findings of the My-Julis website suggest that the website's owners chose to use Hebrew over Arabic in the overall design, this choice does not extend to the subsections. The data suggests that while Hebrew is overwhelmingly preferred on My-Julis for items pertaining to modern living and current affairs, there is a smaller gap in the language choice of Hebrew over Arabic for matters related to tradition and culture.

In examining the languages used in the two regions, a clear difference has emerged with each area showing distinctive patterns of language use, as well as internal variations. In the Carmel region, two of the three websites chose to use Hebrew for their content and one chose Arabic, whereas in the Yarka area, the opposite is true: two websites are

dominated by Arabic and one by Hebrew. It appears that region alone cannot explain language use and consumption. In the following section I will examine whether or not the choice of language of these websites reflects the users' and viewers' language preferences. The examination of internet language use will be obtained from two sources, one being items posted by advertisers and the other being postings by the viewers of these websites in sections such as congratulation announcements and talkback responses.

4.3.5 Language Choice in Advertisements

In this section I will examine website advertisements to shed light on the economic considerations behind language choice and to elicit information regarding the advertisers' perceptions of the language preferences of their potential customers.

The examination of the scope of language choice in the advertisements was limited to the homepage of each website, and full screenshots of each website's homepage were taken on July 10, 2011. The following are the statistical findings of the language choice in the two areas:

Table 4.7: Advertising and language choice across three website homepages from the Carmel Area

	Website						Total	
	HONA		KARMEL		BLADNA			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hebrew Advertisings	6	46.15	21	80.77	4	30.76	31	59.6
Arabic Advertisings	1	7.69	1	3.85	3	23.1	5	9.6
Arabic-Hebrew advertisings	2	15.39	3	11.53	4	30.76	9	17.3
English advertisings	2	15.39	0	0	0	0	2	3.865
English-Arabic	1	7.69	0	0	1	7.69	2	3.865
English-Hebrew	1	7.69	1	3.85	1	7.69	3	5.77
Total	13	100	26	100	13	100	52	100

Table 4.8: Advertising and language choice across three website homepages from the Yarka Area

	Website						Total	
	WEN		AL-MADAR		MY-JULIS			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Hebrew Advertisings	3	15.79	2	5.56	5	100	10	16.67
Arabic Advertisings	10	52.63	19	52.77	0	0	29	48.33
Arabic-Hebrew advertisings	2	10.52	1	2.79	0	0	3	5
English advertisings	0	0	2	5.56	0	0	2	3.33
English-Arabic	3	15.79	7	19.44	0	0	10	16.67
English-Hebrew	1	5.27	5	13.88	0	0	6	10
Total	19	100	36	100	5	100	60	100

These findings suggest that those who advertise on Carmel area websites choose to do so in Hebrew, yet this preference varies among the three websites of the area. On the Karmel website, Hebrew appeared in 96.15% of the advertisements, whereas Arabic appeared in only 15.38%. In nearly 81% of the advertisements Hebrew was the only language, while Arabic and English were each featured exclusively in only 3.85% of total number of advertisements. On the Hona website, Hebrew appeared in 69.23% of the advertisements, Arabic appeared in 30.77% of them, and English in 30.77% of the advertisements. About 46% of the Hona website's advertisements are only in Hebrew, 15.39% are only in English and 7.69% are only in Arabic. The advertisers of the Bladna

website also chose Hebrew over Arabic as the language of their advertisements. Hebrew appeared in 69.21% of the Bladna website's advertisements, Arabic appeared in 61.55%, and English appeared in 15.38% of them. Hebrew was the only language in 31% of the advertisements on the Bladna website, mixed Arabic and Hebrew advertisements appeared in about 31%, and 23.1% of the websites' advertisements were only in Arabic.

These results indicate that those who advertise on the Karmel and Hona websites tend to choose Hebrew over Arabic, just as the owners of these websites have chosen Hebrew as the language of production. However, examination of the Bladna website revealed a contradiction between the advertisers' preferred language choice and the dominant language used by the owners in the design of their website. The Bladna website owners' acceptance of advertisements in Hebrew is economically motivated in that the advertiser determines the language of the ad content in accordance with the economic and sociolinguistic markets, since a more prestigious language is likely to prevail over other language choices in a finance and marketing context. Their sociolinguistic knowledge leads them to expect that the local Druze audience of the Mount Carmel area will accept Hebrew over Arabic in a marketing context and therefore they design their advertisements with this in mind.

We can assume that the websites' owners do not make decisions as to the language of the advertisements, but rather leave that to the advertisers who base their decisions on marketing strategies. It seems that advertisers in the Carmel area believe that Hebrew is a better choice than Arabic in delivering their marketing messages to the customers of this

area. This seems logical given the strong ties between the Mount Carmel area and the Jewish-Israeli market in which Hebrew, the majority language, enjoys greater capital than Arabic, the minority language.

In contrast with websites of the Carmel area, in which Hebrew is the language of production, the websites of the Yarka area show a different pattern. Examination of the language choices in advertisements from the Yarka area reveals that the advertisers' choice of language is consistent with that of the websites' homepages. In this area, Arabic seems to be the preferred choice of the advertisers of the Al-Madar and Wen websites, the two websites from the town of Yarka. Arabic appeared in 78.94% of the Wen website's advertisements, Hebrew appeared in 31.58%, and English in 21% of the advertisements. On the Al-Madar website, Arabic appeared in 75% of total number of the advertisements, Hebrew appeared in 22.23%, and English in 38.88% of the total number of the homepage's advertisements. Arabic was the only language in about 53% of the total number of both Wen and Al-Madar's advertisements. Hebrew was the only language in 15.79% of the advertisements on the Wen website and 5.56% of those on the Al-Madar website. In contrast, those who advertised on the My-Julis website chose their ads to be in Hebrew only.

Thus, the language used in the advertisements on the Al-Madar and Wen websites differs greatly from that of the My-Julis website, and this difference is related to the market forces at work in this area and the potential target audience of each website. Al-Madar and Wen address not only the Druze population of the towns of Yarka and Julis,

but also the neighboring non-Druze Palestinian population, while My-Julis addresses the local Druze residents of the town Julis. The advertisers on Al-Madar and Wen expect that Arabic will enjoy greater capital than Hebrew in this area since it is the language of the majority of the local population, the Palestinian residents who are the advertisers' primary economic target. The discrepancy between language use here and that found on My-Julis can be explained by the results of the survey on language attitude among Druze discussed in Chapter Two. Advertisers seem to feel or expect that the local Druze residents of Julis hold a more positive attitude toward Hebrew than Arabic. This perceived attitude and the marketing considerations of the advertisers of the Yarka area websites play a large part in determining the language choice of the advertisements.

4.3.6 Language Consumption of Internet Users

The language choice of the users of the selected websites will be the focus of this section's examination. This section will be divided into two parts: in the first part I will discuss the users' opinions regarding the website owners' choice of language. Online survey results found on only three websites, Karmel, Hona and My-Julis, provided the data for this examination. In the second part of this section I will examine the users' language choice when posting articles, creative writings, congratulation announcements, and talkbacks to a variety of topics.

Generally speaking, the talkbacks and congratulation announcements are posted anonymously, and the language used is typically informal, direct, casual, and uncensored

by the editors. Therefore, it is very common to find spelling and punctuation variations, swear words, abbreviation symbols and code-switching. The study of the language of the virtual environments is very important since they are very democratic forms of expression and therefore less standardized than formal written language. The latter is very important for the Arabic language since Standard Arabic demands a high degree of correctness which might discourage its use. Reducing the level of formality reduces the pressure of correctness and brings the written form of the language closer to that of the spoken forms as well as to writing Hebrew, since the pressure of correctness on people writing in Hebrew is not the same as on people writing in Arabic.

Only three of the selected websites, the Karmel and Hona websites from the Mount Carmel area, and the My-Julis website from the Yarka area, conducted online surveys with multiple answers targeting users' opinions on their preferred choice of language. The Karmel website asked its users: *In which language do you prefer to read?*[75] The survey included 124 participants, of which 50.8% chose Hebrew, 37.1% chose Arabic, 7.3% chose English and 4.8% chose the "other language" option. My-Julis ran a similar poll and received 96 replies from participants. Forty-six percent chose to view the website in Hebrew, 21% chose Arabic, 2% chose the English option, and 31% chose the option offering all three languages and the ability to select one of them[76]. The results of the two

[75] The results of the survey are available at: :http://www.karmel.co.il/index.php?option=com_poll&task=results&id=27. Date of access July 18, 2011.

[76] The results of the survey are available at: http://www.myjulis.co.il/node/374. Date of access July 18, 2011.

surveys suggest that users of Karmel and My-Julis prefer to view these websites in Hebrew rather than in Arabic.

Although the owners of the Hona website chose to present their website in Hebrew, they asked their users directly how they felt about Arabic becoming the website's language. Of the 2,440 people who took part in this survey[77], 42.7% of them stated that the content of the website should be in Arabic, while 32.34% of them stated that it should not. Nearly one quarter of the participants, 24.96%, chose the option "It does not concern me."

The results of Hona's survey reveal that the users expressed a different language choice than that of the Hona website owners. As we have previously established, the results suggested that the owners of Karmel, Hona and My-Julis significantly chose Hebrew over Arabic as the language of production of their websites, yet a large number of the websites' users claim they would prefer to view the content in Arabic. Hona users expressed a definite positive attitude toward Arabic; in contrast, Karmel and My-Julis users expressed only a slight positive attitude toward the language. These differences in the users' language attitudes may be attributed to the fact that these websites are designed for different audiences. Karmel and My-Julis primarily target adults and locals, while Hona targets the general Druze public, but young people in particular. As we saw in the survey results in Chapter Two, Druze young people expressed a highly positive attitude

[77] The results of the survey are available at: http://www.hona.co.il/surveyresults.aspx?sid=78. of access July 18, 2011.

toward Hebrew, and their main interests seemed to be topics related to local school events and popular culture, specifically those topics related to the news of Arab celebrities.

In contrast with the Karmel website, My-Julis and Hona allow their users to post their reactions to the results of the surveys. However My-Julis users did not appear to be motivated to react to the survey, with only one reaction posted, while a total of 30 reactions were posted on Hona in response to the question *Should Arabic become the language of Hona website*. One may assume that the lack of motivation among My-Julis users to react to the survey reflects the negative opinion toward the Arabic language and its importance to the Druze community in the town of Julis. The reactions of the participants varied, with some of them indicating that they preferred the current format of using both languages since it is unique, but also because Hebrew is the national language of the Jewish state. The following reactions collected from the Hona website demonstrate the debate about language choice among the website users.

Reaction # 19 (in Hebrew):

> לעולם אל תהפכו את השפה כי כך יותר מיוחד ואתם רק תורידו מהערך של האתר

> Never change the language since this way it is more unique, and if **y**ou do, you will only reduce the significance of the website[78]

[78] Originally posted in Hebrew: http://www.hona.co.il/surveyresults.aspx?sid=78. Date of access July 18, 2011.

Reaction # 22 (in Hebrew):

אנחנו חיים במדינה יהודית, וצריך שזה ישאר כך! [:

We live in a Jewish state and it should stay as is![79]

Other participants thought the Hebrew-Arabic format should be changed to Arabic only. These users expressed the opinion that offering the website content in Arabic served to maintain both the language and Druze identity:

Reaction#1(in Hebrew):

…אנחנו הדרוזים בקושי קיימים במדינה הזאת אז למה שיהיה האתר בשפה העברית

… We as Druze barely exist in this state, so why should the website be in Hebrew[80]

Reaction # 8(mixed of Hebrew and Arabic in Hebrew script):

אחנא דרוז וללגא תבעתנא ערבי אז בשביל מה תקון עברי

We are Druze and our language is Arabic, so why should [the website] be in Hebrew[81]

But others doubted that presenting the website in Arabic would be effective in maintaining Arabic as a language, as can be seen in following excerpt:

Reaction # 9 (in Arabic):

[79] Originally posted in Hebrew: http://www.hona.co.il/surveyresults.aspx?sid=78. Date of access July 18, 2011.
[80] This reaction was originally posted in Hebrew: http://www.hona.co.il/surveyresults.aspx?sid=78. Date of access July 18, 2011.
[81] This reaction was posted in Hebrew mixed with Arabic in Hebrew script.

لشو عم تتقاتلو وبعدين لشو عاملين هالاحصاء مهو المكتوب بينقرا من عنوانه كلكن معلقين بالعبري خلص اقلبو الموقع موقع عبري ويهودي وبلا كل هالتعليقات الفاضيه - اصلا هي نص الطايفه ضيعت هويتها وقفت على هالموقع ما عاد حدا يأمن فينا لا احنا عرب ولا احنا يهود مش عارفين الله وين حاططنا

What are you arguing about, and why are you conducting these kind of statistics? It is clear from its title. All of you have commented in Hebrew. Just switch the website to Hebrew and Jewish and enough with these useless comments – Actually, half of the sect [Druze sect] has already lost its identity, how is this website going to make a difference! No one trusts us we're neither Arabs nor Jews, we don't even know what we are [literally, we don't know where God has placed us].

4.3.6.1 Language Choice in Congratulation Announcements

In this section, the examination of congratulation announcements will shed light on the factors that affect the users' language choices, such as announcement type, the target audience and the residence of the posters. In general, I expect that Hebrew will dominate the announcements from the Mount Carmel area, as seen in the findings of chapter two. I also anticipate that announcements posted by younger Druze, and those that target younger audiences, are likely to be in mixed language since this age group is favorable to both Arabic and Hebrew and identifies with both of the cultures represented by the two languages.

Congratulation announcements were collected from the Hona, Karmel, Al-Madar and My-Julis websites. The Wen website does not maintain a section for congratulation announcements. Bladna does maintain one, but access to the collection is blocked which

prevented me from obtaining a representative sample. Bladna's announcements appear on the homepage as six constantly rotating items, which is too small a number to be a reliable and representative sample.

The sample consisted of 99 consecutive announcements from the Karmel website posted between March 20, 2011 and July 14, 2011; 53 consecutive announcements from the Hona website between June 6, 2011 and July 16, 2011; 68 consecutive announcements from the Al-Madar website posted between June 19, 2011 and July 15, 2011; and 111 consecutive announcements from My-Julis posted between November 5, 2010 and June 17, 2011.

Users on these websites chose different linguistic strategies in posting their congratulation announcements. Users of the Hona website posted 55.5% of their announcements in the Hebrew language, while only 7.47% of the announcements were posted in Arabic. Mixed announcements[82] that include Arabic and Hebrew were 35.58%.

The percentage of birthday congratulations was the highest, 62.97% of the total, and all of them are either in Hebrew or mixed Hebrew and Arabic. Wedding and engagement congratulations made up the highest percentage of announcements in Arabic, which was 5.56% of the total:

[82] The mixed announcements category includes two different types, announcements made up of the two languages and their scripts, and Arabic announcements written in Hebrew script.

Table 4.9: Language Choice on the Hona Website's Congratulation Announcements

Hona website	Arabic		Hebrew		Mixed Hebrew & Arabic		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Birthday	0	0	19	35.58	15	27.78	34	62.97
Wedding& Engagement	3	5.56	4	7.47	2	3.70	9	16.67
Birth	0	0	2	3.70	2	3.70	4	7.47
Graduation	1	1.85	2	3.70	0	0	3	5.55
Holidays	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Business	0	0	2	3.70	0	0	2	3.70
Job Promotion	0	0	1	1.85	0	0	1	1.85
Military Rank Promotion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Health	0	0	1	1.85	0	0	1	1.85
Total	4	7.47	30	55.5	19	35.58	53	100

Analysis of the announcements posted on the Karmel website indicates that there were about 80.80% monolingual Hebrew announcements, and only 18.18% monolingual Arabic announcements. Mixed announcements made up only 1.01% of the total. The mixed language choices of those who posted to the Hona website are clearly not evident on the Karmel website. Hebrew is the preferred choice of the Karmel website's posters in every category, with 40% of them in Hebrew, and only 11.11% in Arabic. Table 12 summarizes the distribution of language choice in the congratulation announcements in each category:

Table 4.10: Language Choice in the Karmel Website's Congratulation Announcements

Karmel website	Arabic		Hebrew		Mixed Hebrew & Arabic		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Birthday	11	11.11	40	40.4	0	0	55	55.55
Wedding & Engagement	1	1.01	13	13.13	0	0	14	14.14
Birth	5	5.04	11	11.11	0	0	16	16.16
Graduation	1	1.01	10	10.10	0	0	11	11.11
Holidays	0	0	1	1.01	0	0	1	1.01
New Business	1	1.01	0	0	0	0	1	1.01
Job Promotion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Military Rank Promotion	0	0	3	3.03	0	0	3	3.03
Health	0	0	1	1.01	0	0	1	1.01
Sports	0	0	1	1.01	1	1.01	2	2.02
Total	18	18.18	80	80.80	1	1.01	99	100

The combined statistics of both of the Carmel area websites, Karmel and Hona reveal that the percentage of monolingual Hebrew announcements is 72.36%, while monolingual Arabic announcements make up only 14.47%. Mixed Arabic and Hebrew announcements comprise 13.15%. These results reveal that users posting in the congratulation announcements section of Karmel strongly chose Hebrew over Arabic. While Hona users in general chose to post in Hebrew, announcements were frequently posted in both Hebrew and Arabic. Approximately one-third of the announcements

posted by Hona users were mixed, with the highest percentage, 44.11%, being birthday announcements. Hona and Karmel attract different audiences with different language preferences due to age, education, language competence and exposure to Hebrew speakers and Jewish Israeli culture. Karmel is designed primarily to address the Druze community in Mount Carmel and focuses in particular on the interests of adults and more highly educated audiences, while the Hona website is designed to address both the Mount Carmel area and the entire Druze community in Israel. The Hona website appeals to a less sophisticated audience, featuring for example, matters of interest to teenagers. Having said that, one may conclude that the actual language behavior of Druze in the Mount Carmel area is that adults prefer to use Hebrew in their postings, while Druze youth generally prefer to use mixed languages. This conclusion is not in line with the claimed language attitude of the two groups obtained in Chapter Two, which showed that young Druze hold a more positive attitude toward Hebrew than toward Arabic, while adults slightly favor Arabic over Hebrew. The factor that might explain this discrepancy between claimed language attitude and language behavior is the level of exposure to Hebrew. Adults are in intense daily contact with Hebrew speakers in the workplace, the army, security services and through higher education, while teenagers are primarily exposed to Hebrew through the educational system, extracurricular activities, and the media. Moreover, Druze teenagers are in the process of developing a social identity in which language behavior may signify their cultivation of either a local identity represented by the local language, or a modern and global identity represented by a more prestigious language.

The congratulation announcements of the Al-Madar and My-Julis websites' users also revealed user language choices that differed from that of the websites' owners. The data gathered from Al-Madar revealed that 58.82% of the total announcements were in Arabic only, while 5.88% were in Hebrew. Announcements in Arabic mixed with either Hebrew or English made up 24.99% of the total. Birthday congratulations comprised 57.35% of the total, with 44.12% of them in Arabic only. These findings are somewhat at odds with the language choice of the website's designers, which is Arabic only.

Table 4.11: Language Choice in Al-Madar Website's Congratulation Announcements

Al-Madar	Arabic		Hebrew		Mixed Hebrew & Arabic		Mixed Arabic & English		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Birthday	30	44.12	2	2.94	3	4.41	4	5.88	39	57.35
Wedding & Engagement	1	1.47	1	1.47	0	0	0	0	2	2.94
Birth	5	7.35	0	0	5	7.35	0	0	10	14.7
Graduation	8	11.77	0	0	1	1.47	1	1.47	10	14.7
Holidays	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
New Business	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Job Promotion	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Military Rank Promotion	3	4.41	1	1.47	0	0	2	2.94	0	8.82
Health	0	0	0	0	1	1.47	0	0	1	1.47
Total	47	58.82	4	5.88	10	14.7	7	10.29	68	100

The congratulation posts on My-Julis revealed that about 46% of the announcements were in Arabic, 45% in Hebrew, and 8.11% were mixed Arabic and Hebrew. Matters of interest to adults such as birth, wedding and engagement congratulations make up the majority of the announcements (65.76%), and Arabic was the choice in 60.27% of the total announcements in these two categories.

Table 4.12: Language Choice of the My-Julis Website's Congratulation Announcements

My-Julis	Arabic		Hebrew		English		Mixed Hebrew & Arabic		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Birthday	0	0	8	7.21	0	0	1	0.90	9	8.11
Wedding & Engagement	34	30.63	9	8.11	0	0	7	6.31	50	45.04
Birth	11	9.91	11	9.91	0	0	1	0.90	23	20.72
Graduation	1	0.90	2	1.80	0	0	0	0	3	2.70
Holidays	2	1.80	8	7.21	1	0.90	0	0	11	9.91
New Business	2	1.80	6	5.41	0	0	0	0	8	7.21
Job Promotion	0	0	1	0.90	0	0	0	0	1	0.90
Military Rank Promotion	0	0	1	0.90	0	0	0	0	1	0.90
Health	1	0.90	4	3.60	0	0	0	0	5	4.5
Total	51	45.94	50	45.04	1	0.90	9	8.11	111	100

Previous findings show that while the owners of My-Julis consistently chose Hebrew for the content of their website, data on the congratulation announcements indicates that users, particularly adult users, chose to post in both Hebrew and Arabic. This indicates a clear difference between the website owners' expectations of Hebrew being the language of production and the language behavior of Druze users from Julis, who seem to prefer Arabic as equal as Hebrew. The fact that the Druze users of My-Julis continue to access the website indicates that the marketing expectations of the My-Julis owners correct in that Hebrew enjoys a greater capital than Arabic and would be readily accepted by consumers even though they might use a different code in their consumption.

To sum up this section, the congratulation announcement postings reveal an incongruence between the language that the owners of Al-Madar and My-Julis, the two websites from Yarka area, offer for their users' consumption, and the language behavior demonstrated in the congratulation announcements. While the Al-Madar owners chose to present their website in Arabic only, about 32% of the users' congratulation announcements were in Hebrew or were mixed language postings. With regard to My-Julis, Hebrew was decidedly the first choice of the website owners, while the congratulation announcements revealed that users posted as much in Arabic as they did in Hebrew. The language choices of those posting congratulation announcements on the Hona and Karmel websites were, for the most part, consistent with those of the websites' owners. The language of production of the Karmel website is Hebrew, which is also the choice of the users in their congratulation announcements, while on the Hona website the

pattern of language production differs to some degree from the language consumption of the website users. On Hona, more than one-third of the announcements were in mixed language, the highest percentage of mixed language announcements on either website, and significantly higher than that found on the Karmel website.

4.3.6.2 Language Choice in Users' Literary and Opinion Contributions

Each website maintains at least one subsection where the users can contribute their opinions or their creative writings. The Karmel website, from Carmel area, maintains two sections in which users can post their writings. In the "Literature and Art" section users can contribute their poetry works, and a section titled "Surfers Write" allows users to express their opinions on a variety of social, religious and political matters, or to ask for advice from other users. Examination of the100 consecutive articles of the Literature and Art section, posted between December 15, 2010 and July 14, 2011 revealed that 100% of the items were posted in the Arabic language. In the Surfers Write section, of 100 consecutive items posted between January 11, 2011 and July 17, 2011, 69% were in Hebrew and 31% were in Arabic. These findings indicate that poetry writers chose Arabic, while Hebrew is the preferred language for opinion pieces. It is noteworthy that all of the main button links of Karmel are in Hebrew except the button link for the Literature and Art section, which indicates that this section targets a more specific audience and not the wider range of viewers in the Mount Carmel area. As seen in chapter two, the Druze community in general holds more positive attitudes toward Arabic literature than they do toward Hebrew literature, and it seems that the owners of the

website recognize the preference of their consumers on poetry and Arabic language, and understand that contributors and users may prefer Arabic poetry works over Hebrew.

The Hona website also maintains two sections for users to post contributions, one is dedicated to poetry works and is titled "Culture and Poetry," and the other, titled "Surfers Write" is a section is which users can contribute their opinions on social and political matters. Examination of the 100 consecutive articles from the Culture and Poetry section posted between November 7, 2010 and July 15, 2011, reveals that 96% of them were in Arabic and 4% were in Hebrew. Ninety percent of 100 consecutive articles posted in the Surfers Write section between January 5, 2011 and July, 16 2011 were in Arabic, while only 10% were in Hebrew. Writers who submitted poetry to both Hona and Karmel consistently chose Arabic over Hebrew, but when expressing their opinions on topical issues, those who contributed to Karmel chose Hebrew, while those contributing to Hona chose Arabic.

As can be seen, a clear difference has emerged between the language of production that the owners of Karmel and Hona generally offer and the language of consumption found in the users' postings in the literary sections. Both websites select Hebrew as the language of production, yet the language consumption of the users in the literary works section indicates that Arabic is preferred over Hebrew, at least in this context. The same conclusion can also be drawn with regard to the opinion articles posted by users, although Hebrew is still more dominant than Arabic in the opinion articles posted on the Karmel website. Interestingly, the Karmel website allows users to post anonymously, whereas

Hona seems to discourage anonymous contributions, a fact that may encourage Karmel website users to discuss taboo and unpleasant topics in Hebrew rather in Arabic. Fifty-nine percent of the opinion and advice contributions on the Karmel website were submitted by anonymous writers, but only 6% of the opinion contributions on the Hona website were posted anonymously. It was also interesting to find that 78.26% of the Hebrew opinion and advice contributions on Karmel were anonymous, but only 16.12% of the Arabic opinion and advice contributions were posted anonymously. Most of the anonymous contributions revolved around social taboos, such as a story of a girl in love with a married person. This suggests that when expressing an opinion that is not widely accepted, writers on the Karmel website may feel that using Arabic poses a potential threat, and prefer instead to use Hebrew. This makes sense if we assume that Arabic is perceived by the anonymous contributors as representative of Druze conservative traditions, while Hebrew is perceived to represent modernity and liberalism. In other words, posting in Hebrew allows the users to discuss and present issues that are considered to be socially taboo topics.

Bladna, the third website from the Carmel Area, also maintains a writing section titled "The Writers of Our Town" that includes literary works such as poetry, prose or short stories, as well as articles by locals expressing their opinions on social, religious and political issues. There were only 13 articles in the entire collection dated from February 21, 2011 to April 4 2011. All of the articles were in the Arabic language, and although the sample is relatively small, the findings line up with the other two websites,

Karmel and Hona, in that Arabic is the first choice for literary works. We may conclude that in this sociolinguistic context Arabic has more capital than Hebrew, primarily among educated people. But it also seems that Arabic carries more capital among the less educated groups in matters related to popular culture.

With regard to the Yarka area, the Wen and Al-Madar websites each contain a section titled "Literature and Poetry," to which users can contribute their works. On both websites, this section deals with literary works, creative writing and critical literary analyses. My examination included 100 consecutive articles from each website, those from the Wen website were posted between November 11, 2009 and July 16, 2011, and those on Al-Madar were posted between December 9, 2010 and July 11, 2011. All the articles from both sections were in Arabic only. Al-Madar also maintains a section titled The Free Opinion," in which users express their opinions on various social, religious, and political topics. There were only 49 items in this section, posted between April 4, 2011 and July 13, 2011, and all were in Arabic. Besides the fact that these results match the language production of the owners of these websites, this also reinforces our previous observation that Arabic enjoys significant capital in the literary writing domain, primarily among the educated groups.

The My-Julis website maintains a section titled "Art and Creation" which includes paintings, poetry and prose works. Out of the 15 literary items in this section when it was examined on July 13, 2011,[9] 14 were in Arabic and one item was in Hebrew. Thus,

Arabic seems to be the preferred choice of My-Julis literary writers, although these results do not line up with the general language choice of the website owners.

These results are consistent with those of the Al-Madar, Wen and Hona websites in which they affirm that Arabic is the preferred language choice and enjoys greater capital than Hebrew in the literary writing domain.

4.3.6.3 Druze Internet Users' Talkbacks and Language Choice

The analysis in this section will rely on a sample that includes talkbacks in response to selected items posted on the six selected websites: Karmel, Hona, Bladna, Wen, Al-Madar and My-Julis. The selection of the items was based on the number of the responses to any given item. The number of reactions to each item was significant enough to make it a reliable representative sample. At least one item in each language was selected since my expectation was that the language of the article would tend to promote responses in the same language, as the language of the original post is likely to attract a particular audience, and this in turn will determine the language of the response. Individuals who are likely to respond in Arabic will probably be more interested in an item posted in that language, just as those who choose to respond in Hebrew are likely to be initially more attracted to an item posted in Hebrew.

4.*3*.6.3.1 Language Choice in Druze Internet Users' Talkbacks from the Mount Carmel Area

Four items were selected from the Karmel website, two of each language. The first item is in Hebrew, taken from the Sports section, and dated June 6, 2011. The article is titled "The Player Ihsan Halabi Signed a Contract with Maccabi Dāliya" and is about a Druze soccer player who moved from one team of Dāliyat al-Carmel to another team in the same town. There were 51 reactions to this news article[83], 88.5% (45) of them were in Hebrew and 11.5% (6) of them were mixed language[84] responses. None of the reactions to this article were in Arabic alone. The second Hebrew item is titled "The Druze Land Day on Saturday, Videos," posted on March 29, 2011. It features two videos on the preparation for a demonstration against the confiscation of Druze lands in the Carmel area[85]. 21 reactions were posted for this article, 81% (17) were in Hebrew, 9.5% (2) in Arabic, and 9.5% (2) were mixed language responses.

The Hebrew sample of the Karmel website indicates that Hebrew is the preferred choice of those posting reactions to the article. Hebrew appeared in 86.11% (62) reactions out of a total of 72, 11.12% (8) reactions were in mixed language, and only 2.77% of the reactions were in Arabic.

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[83] The item can be seen in the following link: http://www.karmel.co.il/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=17969. Date of access July 18, 2011.

[84] In this section, mixed language refers to a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic, each in its own script, or a mixture of Hebrew and Arabic written in Hebrew script.

[85] The item can be seen at the following link: http://www.karmel.co.il/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=16994. Date of access July 18, 2011.

With regard to Arabic items, a poem titled "Your Marriage to a Non-Druze Girl is Illegitimate"[86] by ‘Allush Hadeed, was posted on the Karmel website in the section “Literature and Art” on March 7, 2011. The poem received a total of 28 reactions, 67.85% (19) of them in Arabic, 21.42% (6) in Hebrew, and 10.73% (3) were mixed language responses. The second Arabic item was found in the Surfers Write section and titled "Are Druze Arabs or Not?"[87] The article was posted on May 22, 2011, and discusses the issue of Druze cultural identity. There were 16 reactions to this article, 37.5% (6) reactions were in Hebrew, 37.5% (6) in mixed language, and 25% (4) reactions were in Arabic.

The overall picture in the Arabic sample on the Karmel website indicates that 23 of 44, or 52.27% of the reactions were in Arabic, while 12 of the total reactions, 27.27% were in Hebrew. Nine of the reactions to the two articles, 20.46%, were in mixed Arabic and Hebrew. As expected, Arabic is used significantly more often than Hebrew in the responses to the Arabic poem, indicating that Arabic remains strong in this area. These results are in line with the results of chapter two, in which educated Druze seem to hold a positive attitude toward the use of Arabic in this domain, therefore Arabic would be their first choice.

[86] The poem can be seen at the following link: http://www.karmel.co.il/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=16746. Date of access July 18, 2011.
[87] The article can be seen at the following link: http://www.karmel.co.il/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=17680. Date of access July 18, 2011.

With regard to Hona, the second website from Mount Carmel, two Arabic items were selected. The first item I examined was the same Arabic poem found on the Karmel website, "Your Marriage to a Non-Druze Girl is Illegitimate"[88] by 'Allush Hadeed. The poem was posted on the Hona website in the Culture and Poetry section on March 7, 2011. The poem received a total of 104 reactions between March 7, and March 23, 2011, however because there were many duplications, only 78 of them were valid. Comparison with other Arabic articles in this section revealed that this poem received the highest number of reactions to date. Thirty-three (41.7%) of the reactions were in mixed language, monolingual Arabic reactions made up 37.18% (29) of the 78, and 20.5% (16) of the reactions were in Hebrew.

The second item examined from the Hona website is a Hebrew article entitled "Angelina Fares as She Was Presented on the Website ONE -There Was No Sport There"[89] . The article was posted on January 1, 2011, featuring photos of a young Druze girl modeling fashion evening dresses. The model, Angelina Fares, is considered to be the first Druze girl to participate in the Miss Israel beauty contest, as well as the first to model professionally. Angelina was a finalist in the 2007 Miss Israel beauty contest, but dropped out of the competition when she was accused of dishonoring the Druze community and began receiving death threats. It is therefore not surprising that this article invoked a large number of reactions. Angelina's behavior had challenged Druze

[88] The Arabic title "زواجُكَ بشرْعيّةٍ باطِل " can be found at: http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=173&aid=3777. Date of access July 18, 2011.
[89] The article can be found at: http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=191&aid=3525. Date of access July 18, 2011.

tradition and the religious principles of living a humble and discrete lifestyle, shunning the values of modern society, and avoiding any exhibition of the body. As of February 9, 2011, a total of 446 reader reactions to this article were posted, of which the first 201 consecutive reactions were included for analysis. Of these, 51.25% (103) were in mixed Hebrew and Arabic, 39.3% (79) were in Hebrew, and 9.45% (19) were in Arabic.

Thus the language of the responses did not match the language of the article itself. In the reactions to the two selected items from the Hona website, it is clear that the users' first choice in both cases was to respond in mixed Hebrew and Arabic, followed by monolingual Hebrew, and finally, in monolingual Arabic

A comparison of users' reactions to the Arabic poem “Your Marriage to a Non-Druze Girl is Illegitimate” on both the Hona and Karmel websites reveals that Arabic is the preferred choice of Karmel users, while Hona users chose to post in mixed Arabic and Hebrew. This is unexpected in light of the results of the LL study, which showed that Hebrew is the prominent language. This difference might be related to the fact that Karmel's Art and Literature section appeals to the more highly educated adult viewer, a viewer who may want to avoid the mixed language associated with teenagers and younger people. Hona, on the other hand, is designed for a wider, more varied and younger audience who do not feel as competent in writing in Arabic as educated people, a fact that may explain why there were so many mixed language responses to this poem. Moreover, the Art and Literature section of the Karmel website is the only section that provides significant content in Arabic, and this may discourage those who prefer to view

content in Hebrew from posting their reactions, or even from entering the webpage. It is also noteworthy that the mixed language choice in the talkbacks on the Hona website was also found to be the more common choice in the congratulation announcements of the website, illustrating the bilingual identity of the Druze internet users who vacillate between a local identity that is represented by the local language, Arabic, and a non-local identity that is represented by the more prestigious and dominant language, Hebrew.

On the third website of the Carmel area, Bladna, two items were selected to be examined, one in each language. The Hebrew item is an article titled "Have You Ever Asked What is Going to Happen When Parents and Teachers Meet Together in the Same Place?" posted on May 7, 2011[90]. The article discusses cooperation between parents and teachers as a means of enhancing the achievement of the students of Ort-Rohnson, the largest High school of the Carmel area. Thirty-one reactions were posted to this article, all of them in Hebrew.

As for the Arabic item, an article titled "More Than 100 Superiors Graduated From the School of Sciences and Leadership" [91] was selected. The article was on the graduation ceremony for this school, and was posted on June 19, 2011. It received 57 reactions, 47.36% (27) of them in Hebrew, 29.82% (17) in Arabic, and 22.82% (13) were in mixed language.

[90] The article can be seen at the following link: http://www.bladna.co.il/?mod=article&ID=832. Date of access July 18, 2011.
[91] The article can be seen at the following link: http://www.bladna.co.il/?mod=article&ID=1107. Date of access July 18, 2011.

The results for the Arabic item are not in line with the initial expectation that the language of the item will attract viewers who will respond in the same language. This discrepancy can be explained by the findings of chapter two and chapter three, which showed that it is not uncommon for an Arabic item to attract younger Druze from the Mount Carmel area whose language preference toward Hebrew rather than Arabic matches their actual language use and behavior.

To sum up, these results suggest that the choice of language in the reaction is a function of the domain. For example, a domain such as poetry may self-select and attract an audience more likely to choose items written in Arabic over items written in Hebrew in general and therefore more likely to respond in Arabic rather than Hebrew.

However, while this suggestion may be accurate for Karmel, it does not hold for Hona users who chose to post either monolingual Arabic or mixed language responses. It appears that domain alone cannot explain language use and production, as audience seems to play a major role in the language consumption of the users. Websites that appeal to adult users, such as Karmel in the Mount Carmel area, seem to attract users who prefer a monolingual choice rather than a mixed language choice, whereas websites that appeal to younger Druze, such as Hona, seem to attract users who opt for the mixed language choice over all other choices.

4.3.6.3.2 Language Choice in the Druze Internet Users' Talkbacks from the Yarka Area

To recall, the Yarka area includes three websites, Wen, Al-Madar and My-Julis, and of these, only My Julis has a substantial Hebrew component. Since the Wen and Al-Madar websites do not maintain any Hebrew items, only reactions to Arabic items were examined. On the Wen website, two items were examined, both of them articles with photos of local high school graduation ceremonies. These items invited the greatest number of user reactions.

The first item was titled "A New Constellation of Students Have Graduated from Comprehensive Brotherhood [School] in Yarka"[92] posted on July 17, 2011. The second item was titled "73 Flowers Have Graduated from the Garden of Druze High School of Sciences"[93] , posted on July 6, 2011. The first item received 24 reactions, 62.57% (15) in mixed language, 20.83% (5) in Arabic, and 16.6% (4) in Hebrew. The second item

[92] The article can be found at: http://www.wen.co.il/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%84%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D9%8A%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%AC-%D9%83%D9%88%D9%83%D8%A8%D8%A9-%D8%AC%D8%AF%D9%8A%D8%AF%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%B7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%87%D8%A7/31788.news. Date of access July 18, 2011.

[93] The article can be found at: http://www.wen.co.il/%D8%AB%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%B2%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%81%D9%8A-%D9%8A%D8%B1%D9%83%D8%A7-%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%B1%D8%AC-73-%D8%B2%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D9%85%D9%86-%D8%A8%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7/31532.news. Date of access July 18, 2011.

received 31 reactions, 83.88% (26) in mixed language, 12.9% (4) in Arabic, and 3.22% (1) in Hebrew. Combining the responses of the two items reveals that the majority of the posters preferred to use mixed language in their reactions, 74.64% responded in mixed language, 16.36% in Arabic, and 9% in Hebrew. These results suggest that a mixed language is the preferred code of teenage Druze.

With regard to Al-Madar, the second website from the Yarka area, only two Arabic items were examined. The first, an article with photos on a local high school graduation, is titled "The Seventh Regiment Graduated from the High School of Sciences in Yarka." The second item was taken from the local news section, a report about the murder of a Druze girl from the town al-Rami, titled "The Investigation regarding Maya Fares is Still Ongoing and Police Affirm that it is Murder"[94], and posted on July 15 2011. The first article received 64 reactions, 53.12% (34) in mixed language, 40.62% (26) in Arabic, and 6.26% (4) reactions in Hebrew. There were a total of 42 reactions to the second article, 50% (21) in mixed language, 42.85% (18) in Arabic, and 7.15% (3) in Hebrew. Mixed language appears to be the common choice for responses to these two items, with 51.8% of the total responses to both articles posted in mixed language, 41.5% in the Arabic language, and only 6.7% in Hebrew.

The fact that mixed language is the common choice for language consumption of the users of these websites may be explained by the fact that most of the articles were of interest to younger Druze who are conflicted about identifying with either spoken Arabic,

[94] The article can be found at: http://almadar.co.il/news.aspx?cid=78&aid=20516. Date of access July 18, 2011.

which represents local identity or with Hebrew, the more prestigious language that represents a modern and global identity. The results of the Wen and Al-Madar websites from the Yarka area replicate the results obtained from the Hona website from the Mount Carmel area, in that in a domain associated with younger people, users are more likely to choose mixed language. On the other hand, the results of the language consumption of the users of the Wen and Al-Madar websites, who prefer the mixed code, are not in line with the language of production of the websites owners in which Arabic is the preferred code.

Finally, two items were selected to represent the My-Julis website, and two items were selected, one in each language. The Arabic item is an article about the sudden death of a young Druze from the town of Julis. The article was titled "The Death of Mu'ayyad Hinaw as a Result of a Heart Attack While He Was on Duty in the Border Guard"[95], and was posted on May 24, 2011. There were 55 reactions to this article, 60% (33) in mixed language, 29% (16) in Hebrew and only 10.90% (6) in Arabic.

The Hebrew article was posted on October 24, 2010, under the title "A Young Person from Julis Was Stabbed Three Times in the Industrial Area"[96]. The article received 30 reactions, but some of these contained more than one response, bringing the total number of reactions to 57. There were 71.93% (41) mixed language reactions, and 28.07% (16) reactions in Hebrew. There were no reactions in Arabic.

[95] The article can be found at: http://myjulis.co.il/node/2049. Date of access July 18, 2011.
[96] The article can be found at: http://myjulis.co.il/node/1790. Date of access July 18, 2011.

The majority of those who responded to these articles preferred to post in mixed Hebrew and Arabic, with Hebrew-only being the second most popular choice. These results are not in line with the results of the language choice of the website, which showed that the website owners significantly chose Hebrew as their language of production. The factor that may explain the mixed language choice of My-Julis users is that of the audience. The Arabic and Hebrew items both deal with local matters of the town of Julis and are likely to attract a local audience that varies with regard to age, gender and education. Thus, the mixed choice of the local audience may reflect their dual identification with a local culture represented by Arabic, as well as a non-local culture represented by Hebrew.

4.4 Conclusions

It seems that the owners and the advertisers of most of the Druze websites addressing Druze communities, Karmel, Hona, and My-Julis, expect that their users will be receptive to materials in Hebrew rather than in Arabic. The owners' and advertisers' expectations and understandings of the general Druze language attitude are reflected in the findings of chapter two and three of this dissertation. However, the owners of the Bladna website, who primarily address the Druze community in Mount Carmel, appear to be motivated by different market forces and the expectation that users of their website will prefer the content to be in Arabic, particularly those material related to local tradition and culture such as wedding events or archival collections of the town. The Bladna owners'

expectations are in line with the results of chapter two as well, in that the Druze participants showed positive attitudes toward local Arabic tradition and cultures.

With regard to Druze websites not primarily designed for Druze communities, such as Wen and Al-Madar in the Lower Galilee, the owners and the advertisers expect that their consumers will be more receptive to materials in Arabic rather than in Hebrew, and understand that Arabic might be a better choice in conveying their marketing messages to a wider audience, the entire Palestinian population of the Galilee who are believed to hold more positive attitudes toward Arabic than toward Hebrew.

Examination of the language consumption in talkbacks and congratulation announcements of the users reveals that there are different forces at work that affect language use among the Druze. The results affirm that Druze linguistic behavior regarding Arabic literature is consistent with the findings of chapter two, in that Arabic is the preferred language choice and enjoys greater capital than Hebrew in the literary writing domain. It is interesting to note here that Hebrew was found to be dominant choice for opinion articles only on Karmel. This linguistic behavior can be ascribed to the fact that users are allowed to post anonymously on the Karmel website, encouraging them to discuss taboo and unpleasant topics. They seem to feel more comfortable posting their opinions on these topics in Hebrew rather than in Arabic.

The linguistic behavior of the Druze, particularly young Druze, shows heavy code mixing in consumption in four websites, Hona from the Mount Carmel area, and Wen, Al-Madar and My-Julis from the Yarka area.

The mixed language choices that prevailed in these websites is related to the age and education level of the users, as well as the residence of these participants. Mixed choice on the Yarka area websites as well as on the Hona website from Mount Carmel was found in responses to articles associated with school, such as graduation ceremonies and other topics of interest to teenagers and young people. However, results obtained from the school section of the Bladna website, which is designed for the locals in Mount Carmel, revealed that Hebrew was the choice of users responding to an article on a school graduation ceremony, these results reflect the findings of chapter three, in which it was shown that Hebrew dominates public communication in the Mount Carmel area.

The reason behind the difference in language choice between teenagers in the Mount Carmel area and those of other Druze areas, is due to the fact that young people in the Mount Carmel area identify with the modern Israeli culture more than those in other Druze areas due to their extensive contact with Hebrew speakers and the Jewish Israeli culture. Therefore, their attitudes toward Hebrew are more deeply-rooted, as evidenced by their Hebrew competence and performance.

Teenagers from other Druze areas vacillate between a local identity that is represented by the local language, Arabic, and a non-local identity that is represented by the more prestigious and dominant language, Hebrew.

Although these findings show that physical language contact between the Druze and the surrounding linguistic markets extends to virtual communication as well, this connection requires further study in order to be better understood.

CHAPTER FIVE

Codeswitching Behavior in the Druze Public Discourse

5.1 Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to explore the widespread use of codeswitching (henceforth CS), or mixed language production, found in Druze public discourse in Israel. The widespread use of CS among the Druze community indicates that the Druze cultural and linguistic profile encompasses identities that are associated with both languages, Arabic and Hebrew (Myers-Scotton 1993: 481). Moreover, it may indicate ideological presuppositions based upon their first language that favor the second language. Therefore the widespread use of CS is very important in that it may indicate a decaying process of the first language and eventual shift to the second language.

The study is based Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model (henceforth MLF) which will be used to examine two types of CS data: face-to-face Druze public discourse from the Mount Carmel area, and Druze online public communication in the form of talkback responses to written items found on local websites. The MLF model defines two kinds of CS, both of which are common in Druze Arabic-Hebrew CS production; one is *inter-sentential* switching, that is, switching between full sentences of Arabic and Hebrew. The other one, which is the focus of this study, is *intra-sentential* switching**,** switching between the two languages within a clause, with the clause containing elements of the two languages (Myers-Scotton 2006: 239).One of the most

fundamental premises of the MLF model is that the participating languages in the CS play asymmetrical grammatical roles, the first language being the Matrix Language (henceforth ML) and the second one being the Embedded Language (henceforth EL). The Matrix Language is the language that provides certain grammatical constraints to the structure of the CS, whereas the EL provides certain morphemes that fit well in the grammatical structure of the ML (see Myers-Scotton 2008, 2002 and 1993; Jake et al. 2005).

The contribution of ML and EL in the CS can also be in the form of phrases (also called "islands") as well as single morphemes. Myers-Scotton argues that speakers who frequently use EL island phrases appear to be more proficient in the EL. However, the more proficient the speakers in the EL, the less limited they are in employing the EL islands, and the fewer singly occurring content morphemes of the EL. Speech that shows a large number of monolingual switches between independent sentences of the two languages may indicate that the speaker is very proficient in the EL and this eventually undermines the hierarchy principle between the ML and EL (Myers-Scotton 2002: 149). Thus, finding a large number of Hebrew inter-sentential switching is an indication that Arabic is in the process of losing its role as a first language.

In the early version of the MLF model (Myers-Scotton 1993), Myers-Scotton claimed that the hierarchical relationship between the ML and the EL is not only limited to the grammatical structure of the CS, but can also be seen in the quantity of the morphemes that the ML and EL contribute to the discourse. ML, therefore, can be identified as a

source of certain types of morphemes as well as the source of a greater number of morphemes in the discourse. In other words ML is the *unmarked* choice that quantitatively contributes more material to the discourse than the EL the *marked* choice (Myers-Scotton 1993).

This claim was rearticulated in her recent work, after other studies provided 'atypical' cases in which the EL is found to be the unmarked choice in a particular discourse sample (Myers-Scotton and Jake 2005; Myers-Scotton 2002). In her new articulation, Myers-Scotton states that the ML is the language that "supplies more morphemes in a bilingual CP[97]"(61), but this claim is actually an ambiguous and confusing one since "the Matrix Language is not to be equated with an existing language; rather one should view the Matrix language as an abstract frame for the morphosyntax of the bilingual CP[98]" (66). However, this study provides evidence contradicting of Myers-Scotton's claim in that the data shows that the quantity of morphemes is not always indicative of ML.

In this chapter, I will use this framework to analyze both spoken and written data with two goals in mind: first, I will argue that Arabic is the ML of the mixed constituents in both face-to-face and online written talkbacks, while Hebrew, the second language, is the EL. However, the corpus of this study shows that in speech, Hebrew, the EL, provides at least as many morphemes as does Arabic, the ML, and more in some cases.

[97] CP stands for the syntactic term "Projection of Complementizers".
[98] See Boussofara-Omar's works (1999 and 2003).

My second argument is that there is a difference between the relative status of Arabic and Hebrew in the spoken and written data. While Arabic clearly retains status as the unmarked ML in written CS data, ruling the morphosyntactic framework of the mixed constituents as well as providing more morphemes than Hebrew in the CS reactions, Arabic loses its status to Hebrew as the unmarked choice in the speech CS data. The face-to-face data shows that Druze bilingual speakers frequently use EL islands and switch between independent sentences of Arabic and Hebrew which indicates a shift in Arabic's status from unmarked code to marked code.

I will also argue that this analysis has significance beyond the status of Arabic or Hebrew as unmarked choice, Myers-Scotton (2002: 148-149) argues that speakers who switch between monolingual independent sentences of the participating languages are typically more proficient in the EL than those who employ singly occurring EL content morphemes or phrases in the CS. In the case of the Druze in Israel, I will argue that the differences between spoken and written CS do not reside in the matter of proficiency in the EL since the Druze are very proficient in Hebrew, but rather it is precisely attributed to the nature of spoken and written communication, in which the latter is driven more by the speaker’s awareness of the grammar and syntactical structure of his first language, therefore in written contexts Arabic is expected to dominate the syntactical structure of the discourse and provide more morphemes than Hebrew in CS discourse.

Additionally, I will argue that grammatical analyses of the face-to-face Druze public discourse in the Mount Carmel area do not tell us much and that the context and the topic of the discourse is far more important than syntax in revealing the state of CS.

In the first section of this chapter I will present the corpus of this study, and the second section will be devoted to the presentation of the theoretical framework of my analysis, which will be based on two major models: the Matrix Language Frame model proposed by Myers-Scotton (see Myers-Scotton 2002) and the Audience Design model (see Bell 1984 and 2001). In the third section I will present the findings and my analysis of both the face-to-face public discourse and the online public communication.

5.2 The Theoretical Framework of the Study

In this section I will present Myers-Scotton's MLF Model that will be used to analyze the data.

Codeswitching, or alternating between two language varieties in the same conversation, is a distinct linguistic behavior found in bilingual societies (Myers-Scotton 2006:239). The phenomenon of alternating from one language variety to another can be as simple as the borrowing of a number of lexical items from the second language. At the end of the spectrum, the use of codeswitching can signal the decay of the first language and eventual shift to the second language.

The central premise of Myers-Scotton's CS studies is that this phenomenon does not occur because the first language is a "broken or bad language" but rather that it requires as much competence as does acquiring and speaking either language on its own (2006: 250). Myers-Scotton argues that the study of codeswitching production can shed light on how certain aspects of the grammatical structures of the two languages come together. Exploring the juxtaposition of the two languages can contribute to the theories of syntax, morphology and phonology, and simultaneously challenge those same theories (2002:5). Moreover, the study of bilingual competence can reveal the state of the maintenance of the first language, as well as whether or not a shift to the second language is occurring (2002:48).

In order to explain the grammatical constraints of the general grammatical structure of the codeswitching, Myers-Scotton developed the MLF Model.[99] The basic premise of this model is the assumption that bilingual constituents are structured by two languages, yet there is structural asymmetry between the languages involved in that one language nearly always provides the main framework for the grammar of bilingual speech (Myers-Scotton 2006: 235). The Matrix Language, or ML is the one that contributes the morphosyntactic frame for the mixed constituents. The other one is referred to as the

[99] Since the MLF model was introduced, it has been widely published by Carol Myers-Scotton and her colleague, Janice J. Jake (Myers-Scotton and Jake 1995, 2000; Myers-Scotton 2002; Jake et al., 2002) in an effort to formulate a new theory to explain the phenomena of contact linguistics. While the MLF model is primarily based on a series of studies conducted on African languages, Myers-Scotton claims that her findings have a general applicability that explains the classic CS phenomena (Myers-Scotton, 2002: xiii)

Embedded Language, or EL. The MLF model is meant to be applied to what is called classic CS:

> "Classic includes elements from two (or more) language varieties in the same clause, but *only one of these varieties is the source of the morphosyntactic frame for the clause*." (Myers-Scotton 2006: 241)

In identifying our data as classic CS[100], I claim that Arabic is the ML that rules the morphosyntactic framework of the CS, and that asymmetry exists between the two languages in the grammatical encounters in the CS. In order to consider the construction of the mixed languages as a form of classic codeswitching, two principles must be satisfied, the morpheme order principle and the system morpheme principle as described below:

1. The Morpheme Order Principle:

> In Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents consisting of singly occurring Embedded Language lexemes and any number of Matrix Language morphemes, surface morpheme order (reflecting surface syntactic relations) will be that of the Matrix Language (Myers-Scotton 2002:59).

[100] When the CS structure is split between the two languages, resulting in what is called a composite ML where the bilingual speaker has access to two morphosyntactic sources. Myers-Scotton (2002) argues that composite CS necessarily entails convergence, "a mechanism in the progressive outcomes of attrition, language death, and Creole formation" (101)

2. The System Morpheme Principle

> In Matrix Language + Embedded Language constituents, all system morphemes which have grammatical relations external to their head constituent (i.e. which participate in the sentence's thematic role grid) will come from the Matrix Language (Myers-Scotton 2002:59).

Myers-Scotton classifies the morphemes as 4 types, content morphemes and three subtypes of system morphemes: early system morphemes, bridge late system morphemes, and outside late system morphemes. Content morphemes differ from system morphemes in that they are involved in assigning or receiving thematic roles (Myers-Scotton, 2002: p. 74-75), whereas system morphemes are not. Content morphemes in the mixed constituents can come from either the ML or EL, and the ML can block the EL content morphemes if they are not congruent with the ML counterparts in terms of assigning thematic roles or discourse functions. The blocking of EL content morphemes by the ML may be one of the factors that trigger the emergence of EL phrases (islands).

Early system morphemes are those morphemes that depend on their head for more information. They are conceptually activated like content morphemes, but they lack the receiving and assigning thematic roles. Examples of this kind of morpheme are determiners that add specification and conceptual information to nouns, such as the English definite article *the*; Arabic demonstratives that agree with their heads in number and gender, such as *hāda l-walad,* "this (masculine) the-boy" or *hādi l-bent* "this (feminine) the-girl" or plural morphemes, e.g. the morpheme /–s/ in English. These

morphemes are more closely tied to their heads than other system morphemes. Late system morphemes are divided into two categories, "bridge" and "outsider". Bridge morphemes are not closely tied with their heads, that is, they connect between two content morphemes to form a larger constituent. The possessive *taba'*, "of" in Palestinian Arabic, and /*of*/ or /-'s/ in English are examples of such morphemes. Outsider late system morphemes, basically "depend for their form on information outside their immediate maximal projection" (Myers-Scotton, 2002: p. 75), meaning that they have grammatical relation outside their head such as subject-verb agreement, clitics/affixes, and case affixes. For example, Arabic and Hebrew subject-verb agreement is overtly expressed by attaching subject markers to the verb stem, such as the Arabic past tense marker */–at/* as in *katb-at* or the Hebrew past tense marker */–a/* as in *katv-a*, the third person feminine verb "she wrote".

a. el-bent katb-at maktūb (Arabic)
b. ha-yalda katv-a mixtav (Hebrew)
The girl wrote a letter

The past tense Arabic subject marker */–at/* and Hebrew */–a/* cannot be realized until they are coindexed with a third singular female noun, for this reason these subject markers belong to the category late outsider system morphemes. In Arabic there are several outsider late system morphemes that must wait for later activation to be realized, such as the Arabic definite article *al/el*. The activation of the Arabic definite article in the second term of the construct phrase (iḍāfa) has to look outside its own maximal projection, as in *taxt el-walad*, "the boy's bed." Another syntactic reason regarding the

later activation of the Arabic definite article is in which the presence or absence of the definite article before the adjective is dictated by the definiteness/indefiniteness of the noun. A definite noun is followed by a definite adjective and an indefinite noun is followed by an indefinite adjective. Semantically, the Arabic definite article looks outside its own maximal projection, since it refers to knowledge that was previously mentioned in the discourse. Quantifiers such as kull, "all," can also look outside their maximal projection when they are suffixed with clitics, as in *kull-hum* or *kull-hin*. Other outsider late system morphemes are negation morphemes such as *mā* that are involved in bi-morphemic negation structures with */š/* as in *mā fīš* "there is not," prepositions such as */ʿan/* "about" or */min/* "from" that are attached to clitic pronouns as in *ʿanhā* "about her" or *mihā* "from her," and complementizers such as *ʿašān* "because of", *ʾinnu* "that" or *laʾinnu* "because", when clitic suffixes are attached to them as in *ʿašān-ak* "because of you", *ʾinn-hā* "that she" or *laʾin-hum* "because they" (Myers-Scotton 2008).

The MLF model predicts that only ML outsider late system morphemes will occur in the mixed constituents, but EL outsider late system morphemes will not. While early system morphemes as well as bridge late system morphemes are not required to come from the ML, they generally do (Myers-Scotton 2008).

Myers-Scotton's MLF model will assist us in examining the grammatical structure of the CS between Arabic and Hebrew in the written and speech corpuses, and the way that the two languages are employed in the mixed constituents and in the overall discourse. In particular, the application of the MLF model will assist us in recognizing differences in

CS behavior as it is found in both the written and spoken data. Myers-Scotton argues that the MFL model is able to predict the grammatical features of a speaker's language. This function of the MLF model will help us to determine whether Arabic is being maintained as the ML of the CS, or is being challenged by Hebrew in one or both types of data, the written and the spoken.

5.3 The Corpus of the Investigation

The corpus used in this study was obtained from Druze websites in Israel, the YouTube channel of the Portal haKarmel website[101] and the general collection of YouTube. The significance of these sources of data is that they were produced and recorded without any interviewer or researcher intervention and come from a variety of domains. In general, the data can be divided into two major sets, the first one being made up of face-to-face Druze public discourse, and the second set consisting of online written communications of Druze internet users. The data of the face-to-face public discourse includes 5 video recordings which deal with two discourse topics: Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council meetings and a meeting of the Druze women movement "The Scream of 'Isifya's Women".

Four recordings were obtained from the Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council meetings. The first two recordings represent an official meeting of the general assembly of the

[101] The data is available online at: http://www.youtube.com/user/karmelportal7 . Date of access October 4, 2011.

Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council. In the first video recording[102] (henceforth VR1) is 10 minutes and 45 seconds of discussion of the general assembly of the Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council. The topic of discussion was the appointment of an individual to be in charge of tax collection. Fourteen people were involved in the discussion, which included the elected members of the assembly and the Local Council comptroller and legal adviser. Three other employees were there as observers, including the candidate for the job. All of the participants are native speakers of Arabic.

The second video recording[103] (henceforth VR2) is a continuation of the discussion of VR1 with the same participants. In VR2 the discussion switches to the appointment of a property tax manager. VR2 is 10 minutes and 43 seconds long.

In the third video recording[104] (henceforth VR3), the general assembly discusses opening a separate bank account for a projected welfare program in order to prevent any of the funds from going to other purposes. The program and the proposal were introduced by two people from the local welfare office in Dāliyat al-Carmel. This video is 10 minutes and 55 seconds long, and 16 people were involved in the discussion, all of whom are native speakers of Arabic. There were 3 local young people observing the discussion.

[102] VR1 is available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0-2sVHS1LcQ. Date of access October 4, 2011.
[103] VR2 is available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nscfl7YAQzs. Date of access October 4, 2011.
[104] VR3 is available at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u1oYIvW1p7Q&feature=related. Date of access October 4, 2011.

In the last video recording of this group, video recording[105] number four (henceforth VR4), a small committee of Local Council members and landowners were assembled to continue the discussion on the issue of building a hotel in the town. There were 8 participants in this video all of whom are native speakers of Arabic. The video is 24 minutes and 59 second long.

The last video recording was found on the Karmel website and is titled "The Scream of 'Isifya's Women." The title refers to a movement comprised of activist Druze women from the town of 'Isifya in the Mount of Carmel area. The focus of this group is to promote public resistance to the governmental proposal to merge the two neighboring Druze towns, Dāliyat al-Carmel and 'Isifya under one Local Council. This video is henceforth known as VR5[106], and centers on an audio recording of a meeting of the group's members. Seven Druze women attended the meeting, all of whom are from the town of 'Isifya and native speakers of Arabic. VR5 is 6 minutes and 56 seconds long.

With regard to online public communication, the corpus includes talkbacks of Druze internet users who posted their reactions to two different items. The first item is an article in Hebrew, with photos, of the first female Druze fashion model in Israel[107]. The second

[105] VR4 is available at: http://www.youtube.com/user/hahskarmel?blend=11&ob=5#p/u/21/GhHPqncdXFY. Date of access October 4, 2011.
[106] VR5 is avialabe ate: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=idMidaBX1G4. Date of access October 4, 2011.
[107] The article can be found at : http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=191&aid=3525 . Date of access October 4, 2011.

item is an Arabic poem titled "Your Marriage to a non-Druze Girl is Illegitimate,"[108] a poem that expresses the angst of a mother whose son is in love with, and about to marry, a non-Druze girl. These two items were examined in chapter four in which they were the subject of the language choice analyses, however in this chapter they are used to analyze the CS phenomena. The selection of these items was based on the number of the reactions, a total of 513 to these two items together. These items also may have invoked identity issues that attracted Druze readers from a number of different towns.

Clearly, the content of the face-to-face data is different from that of the written data. As noted in chapter two and four there is more of a positive attitude toward Arabic in cultural, literary, and creative writing domains than in any other type of domain. Therefore, users posting their reactions to topics that have to with literary works and local culture and tradition are expected to favor the use of Arabic over Hebrew.

5.4 Findings and Analysis

In this section, I will present my analysis in the following steps. First, I will examine the grammatical structure in samples of CS from the face-to-face videos, to explore whether Arabic or Hebrew provides the underlying grammatical structure of the mixed constituents. The focus of the examination will be on the occurrences of the system morphemes and the word order in the mixed constituents. To recall, MLF model predicts that ML dictates the word order in the mixed constituents as well as providing the late

[108] The poem is available at: http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=173&aid=3777. Date of access October 4, 2011.

system morphemes. I will also examine the contribution of each of the participating languages in the discourse samples to determine whether or not the ML provides significantly more morphemes than the EL in the sample. The second part of this section will be devoted to examining the grammatical structure of the written CS as well as the way in which each language is represented in the sample of the talkback responses.

5.4.1 Face-to-Face Druze Public Discourse

As noted previously, this set of data includes 5 video recordings. VR1 and VR2 are official meetings of the general assembly of the Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council, and all of the involved participants are either elected members or lead staff of the Local Council. These meetings were conducted in Hebrew and the shifts between Arabic and Hebrew were minimal and limited only to intra-sentential switching, switching between Arabic and Hebrew morphemes in the same sentence. In these two videos Arabic is always found in the mixed constituents. Despite the fact that Hebrew is the most common choice or the unmarked choice of the discourse, the mixed constituents obey the syntactical structure of Arabic. Using the system morpheme principle as well as the word order principle to test the mixed constituents in the data reveals that Arabic often provides the early system morpheme in the mixed constituents, such as in the demonstrative *hāda* "this-masculine", or in late system morphemes such as the Arabic definite article */el/*, the quantifier *kull* "all", prepositions such as *fī* "in", and complementizers such as *'innu* "that."

Although all of the participants in VR1 are native speakers of Arabic, examination of the language choice in VR1 revealed that Hebrew was the most common choice or the unmarked choice. Hebrew contributes most of the morphemes and the sentences in the overall discourse of this video and was the only choice in 97.67% of the entire discourse (10 minutes and 30 seconds out of 10 minutes and 45 seconds), while Arabic was found in only 2.33% of the total time. Only one mixed constituent was found in VR1, in which Arabic was the Matrix Language since it provided the system morphemes. As can be seen in the following excerpt[109], in which Arabic contributed the conditional particle *'idhā* "if", the adjective *rasmī* "official" and the bridge late system morpheme, illi "that" (Arabic in bold font):

Excerpt 1:

...**'idhā** eyn mimone **rasmī illi** musmax ʻal yadi harašut
…

… if there is no official appointee that is accredited by the [Local] Council...

In VR2 Hebrew was the only code in 88.17% of the total time of 10 minutes and 34 seconds. Mixed constituents were found in 11.83% (75 seconds) of the total time. Most of the CS data in VR2 was found in the first speaker's discourse, the introduction to the topic of discussion. The following excerpt illustrates the mixed constituents of speaker number one, in which Arabic is the Matrix Language despite the fact that Hebrew occurs

[109] The Hebrew transliterations of the face-to-face data is based on the actual production of the Druze speakers, therefore some of the transliterations in the data might not reflect a native Hebrew speakers' production.

more than Arabic in the discourse. Arabic provided the late system morpheme, the definite article as in *t-tafkidim*, the complementizer *ʾinnu* "that" and the prepositions *fī* "in" and *laʿinnā* "to us" (Arabic in bold font):

Excerpt 2:

> **ʾijā laʿinnā** ħaššav [name] vi-az hu kavaʿ et haklalim miʿal laroš haʿir vi-miʿal laʿiriya **ʾissā niħnā fī** tkufa aħeret **fī** tkufat piruk **ow-niħnā baʿidnā** lo eyyašnu et hamisrot **biđ-đabţ kīf ħaka Abu Yūsef ʾinnu fī** mixrazim **la**t-tafkidim **hunaki**
>
> The accountant [name] came to us [joined us], then he determined the rules to the Mayor of the town and everyone in the municipality. Now, we are in a different period, in a knocking down period, and we have not filled the jobs yet, exactly how Abu Yusuf said that there are bids for the positions over there

As can be seen from the excerpts of videos VR1 and VR2, Hebrew was the unmarked choice and contributed most of the morphemes in the discourse. However Arabic was the Matrix language in all CS occurrences in these videos, which means that Arabic is the underlying structure of the videos. The choice of Hebrew as the unmarked code in the overall discourse of the assembly discussion indicates that assembly members were in agreement that this is the appropriate code for this type of interaction, setting and anticipated audience. Myers-Scotton (2008: 40-41) argues that the choice of the unmarked code is a result of the communicative and sociolinguistic competence of the participants who are able to recognize the situation, setting and topic of the discourse and to adjust their choice accordingly. Moreover, the choice of Hebrew as the unmarked code of the meetings of Dāliyat al-Carmel's formal general assembly is due to the fact that the

work and performance of the local authority must be accessible to the central authority for accountability and auditing purposes and are typically prepared in Hebrew in order to be presented to Hebrew speaking bureaucrats.

In videos VR3, VR4, and VR5, the intensity of CS between Arabic and Hebrew is greater than in the previous videos. Arabic seems to dictate the morphosyntactic structure of the mixed constituents in these videos by providing a variety of late system morphemes. The involvement of Arabic and Hebrew in CS in these videos is not limited to intra-sentential switching as in VR1 and VR2, and inter-sentential switching is also common in these videos. In VR3, the general assembly discusses opening a separate bank account for the anticipated funding of a welfare program. Two representatives of the local welfare office joined this meeting to introduce the topic to the Local Council members in their general assembly meeting. Examination of the language used in the 10 minutes and 55 seconds of this video revealed that CS was the unmarked code 70.85% of the total time, Hebrew-only was used 28.85% of the time, and Arabic-only was used 0.3% of the time. The following are examples from VR3:

Excerpt 3: Remarks of the representative of the local welfare office

biddī osif **bass šaghli bn-nisbi lal**-tuxnit **'innu ‘amaliyyan ya‘ni minšān** lo laredet lipraţim …**et**-tuxnit **hī** lihakim **thalāth** mirkazim **fī id-dālliyyə: waħad** p‘ilut no‘ar vigil rax **fī el-markiz el-jamāhīrī el**-quma **it-taħtā illi yikūn fīhā** mirkazim ši-yixlilu **kull el**-migvan gam ţipuli vi-gam ħavayati; **ith-thāni biddu ykūn fī xallit el-jamal el-maħall el-yōm laħadd 'issā msakkar ‘milnālu** niqayon **xilāl jum‘a jumi‘ten kamān baddu** yesudar ..vi-as **hunāk** yehye mirkaz no‘ar **lakull iš**-šxuna **el-mawjūdə hunāk** kolel madrixim ‘uvdim sotsyalim…

> I only want to add one more thing regarding the program, that is practically, in order not to go into details... this program is to create three centers in Dāliya: one is for teenagers and preschoolers activities on the ground floor in the community center that will have centers that comprise all variety [of treatments] both therapeutic and experiential; the second will be in khallit el-Jamal, until now it's closed. We've already done cleaning there. Within a week or two, it will be organized and there will be a youth center for all the neighborhood including counselors and social workers

Excerpt 3 shows instances of Hebrew content morphemes preceded by the Arabic definite article */el/* as in ***et****-tuxnit* "the program" in which the Arabic definite article is assimilated to the first alveolar Hebrew consonant */t/*. Other late system morphemes appearing in excerpt 3 are the Arabic quantifier *kull* "all" and the complementizer *minšān* "in order to". *Kull* appeared in conjunction with the definite article */el/* twice as in *kull* ***el****-megvan* "all the variety" and *lakull* ***i****š-šxuna* "to all the neighborhood." These examples show that Arabic sets the underlying morphosyntactic framework of the mixed constituents, therefore Arabic is the Matrix Language and Hebrew is the Embedded Language. Moreover the example here shows that Hebrew is embedded in the Arabic Matrix Language on two levels: as singly occurring words and as embedded islands, such as the phrases *lo laredet lipraţim* "not to go into details" or *p'ilut no'ar vigil rax* "teenagers' and preschoolers' activities." Myers-Scotton argues that the occurrence of embedded islands may be a result of pragmatic forces in that the insertion of the EL island may better express the intentions of the speakers and carries the preferred

connotation of the equivalent in the ML (2006: 266). Another reason that may be behind the insertion of the EL islands is incongruence between the grammar of the two languages such as verb negation or verb tense (Myers-Scotton 2002:146-147). In excerpt 3, the embedded Hebrew islands occurring in the discourse do not show any incongruence between Arabic grammar and Hebrew grammar therefore they are used in the discourse as a result of pragmatic forces. There is only one exception, the phrase *lo laredet lipraţim* "not to go into details." The use of this Hebrew island is a result of incongruence between the Arabic verb negation and Hebrew. The Hebrew negation morpheme *lo*, or "not" is an early system morpheme, and the equivalent spoken Arabic negation morpheme *mā* "not" is a late system morpheme which means that it has to wait for later activation by the morpheme /š/ to be attached to the verb to be realized. The intention of the speaker to activate the Hebrew verb *laredet* in negation form causes the appearance of the Hebrew island.

In excerpt 4, taken from VR3, two members of the Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council participated in the conversation. In this excerpt, Hebrew is also the EL although it contributed more morphemes than Arabic, the ML in this example:

Excerpt 4:

Member A.

> **sū'āl** [name of the addressee]! **sū'āl! 'idhā niħnā 'issā** matsbi'im **'ala** ħišbon **hādha, hādha el**-ħišbon, ka-'ilu yeošar lo tehye eze ba'aya **'innu** ka-'ilu yehye ħišbon nifrad **wallā biddu yikūn** ħišbon bitox ħišbon?

> Question [name of the addressee]! Question! Now that we are going to vote on this account, as if this account is going to be approved and there won't be any sort of problem! Will there be a separate account or is it going to be an account within another account? [referring to the education account in general]?

Member B.

> xavirim! **et**-tixnika **hēk: fī** ptiħat **ħsāb jdīd el-yōm .. el-yōm** dafka ma'difim **fī** misrad hapnim liya'ed **'akthar ħsabāt la**-proyektin misoyamim **'ala 'asās kull** proyekt **yikūn** sagur bifne 'atsmo **fī** 'idud **min hazzayy et**-tixnika **hēk**

> Friends! The technique is like this: when opening a new account today, today specifically the Interior Ministry prefers to designate more accounts for specific projects on the basis that each project stands on its own. There is encouragement like this, this is the technique

In both excerpts, Arabic is the Matrix language since it provides the late system morphemes, the definite article */el/*, the prepositions *fī* "in" and *'ala* "on" and the quantifier *kull* "all". The definite article */el/* was used alone as ***et****-tixnika* "the technique" or in conjunction with an early system morpheme such as ***hādha el****-ħišbon* "this account." Member A's discourse confirms the prediction of the MLF model regarding the morpheme order principle, in which the order of the morphemes in the mixed constituents follows that of the ML. The order of the demonstrative adjective-noun in the mixed phrase ***hādha el****-ħišbon* "this account" follows the Arabic order in which the

demonstrative adjective *hādha* "this" precedes the Hebrew noun *ħišbon* "account", while in Hebrew the order is the opposite, with nouns preceding demonstrative adjectives.

Hebrew is embedded in the discourse of both speakers as single words such as *matsbiʿim* "we are voting" and *tixnika* "technique" or as sentences in the excerpt of member B: ka-ʾilu yeošar lo tehye eze baʿaya **ʾinnu** ka-ʾilu yehye ħišbon nifrad "as if this account is going to be approved and there won't be any sort of problem! Will there be a separate account." These findings indicate that although the speakers are very competent in both languages and have the ability to use inter-sentential switching between Arabic and Hebrew, the grammatical structure of the mixed constituents indicates that their first language, Arabic, does not show any signs of waning when the two languages come into contact.

VR4, and VR5 differ from the other videos in which the majority of the participants are local citizens of the Mount Carmel area, yet the linguistic content of these videos is congruent with the findings of VR3 regarding the unmarked choice, that is, the most common language choice in these videos was the CS choice. VR4 is a recording of meeting between members of the Local Council and residents who may lose portions of their properties if a non-local investor is allowed to build a hotel in the Mount Carmel area. In VR4, two members of the Local Council were present and the speakers were involved in codeswitching for 86.2% of the 25 minute recording. The rest of the meeting was conducted in Hebrew.

The increased involvement of the speakers in CS can be seen in the following two CS excerpts obtained from the discourse of local landowners in VR4.

Excerpt 5: Landowner C's Discourse, VR4:

> **…fī ra'yyi fī mawđū' 'akthar** ‘ikroni, ni'marim dvarim xašuvim **min nāĥiyet 'idhā el-majles biye'ref 'ala it**-tuxnit **'aw biye'refeš…**okay xašuv mi'od **'ammā el-mawđū' 'akthar** ‘ikroni …**wel-mawđū'** ‘ikroni **el-majles…** ani lo yodeya'‘ **'idhā el-majles byighdar el-yōm** ytnaged **lahāyy it**-tuxnit ki ha-mu'atsa ha-mikomit hi yuzemet et ha-tuxnit **hiyye** migišat **it**-tuxnit
>
> -lo lo (interruption by a member of the Local Council)
>
> tišma'! katuv kan šaxor 'al gavei lavan (he reads a document in Hebrew).
>
> **hadhā (Abu ----) el**-mismax **ir-rasmī illi wişel lal**-va'ada ani lo yodeya' , ani ma'rix **'innu el-majles 'idhā biyjī** ytnaged **lat**-tuxnit ani ma'rix bixol hakavod hara'oi vi-ata yodeya**' anā baĥtirim el-mu'assase..**
>
> …in my opinion there is an issue that is way more fundamental, important things have been said regarding whether the Council knows about the plan or not… okay it's very important… but the issue is way more fundamental ...and the issue is fundamental and the Council…I don't know if the Council is able today to oppose this plan since the Local Council is initiating the plan, offering the plan
>
> - (interruption by a member of the Local Council) No, No
> Listen! It's written here in black and white (he reads a document in Hebrew)
>
> This is the official document that the committee received, I don't know, I assume that if the Council

> opposes the plan… I assume with all due respect, and you know I do respect the organization [The Council]…

Hebrew was also embedded in the discourse of speaker C, obtained from VR4, as single words in the mixed constituents, such as the adjective ‘*ikroni* in the phrase ***’akthar*** *‘ikroni* "way more fundamental" or *tuxnit* in ***it-****tuxnit* "the plan" where the Arabic late system morpheme definite article is assimilated to the following Hebrew alveolar /t/. Arabic also provided late system morphemes such as the complementizer *’innu* "that" in the mixed constituents. Speaker C, as well as Speaker B show a clear ability to switch between the two languages in the same clause or between sentences.

Although the setting of VR5 differs from the other videos, the pattern of the involvement of Arabic and Hebrew in VR4 is replicated by each speaker participating in VR5. This video was not set up as an interview or official meeting, but is instead the documentation of a meeting of a group of Druze women activists. The meeting was held to state the mission of the movement “The Scream of Isifya’s Women,” as well as to address the members' concerns regarding the plan to merge the two towns, Dāliyat al-Carmel and ‘Isifya.

An examination of the opening statement will help us to better understand the group's language choices and the unmarked code of this public discourse. (Bold indicates Arabic language):

Excerpt 6:

> **’iḥnā ēh…ēh Samīra ‘Azzām, Nuhā ‘Azzām, Ṣadīqa, Đabyān, Azhār Zahər, ’Imtiyāz Mansour…’iḥnā** pašuţ našim..našim **‘isfawiyyāt illi fī qađiyə** nuga‘at **’ilnā fi l-** hargaša **li**-pnimit **mātb mtāb‘itnā ka-durziyyāt ka-‘isfawiyyāt ka-’immayāt əw-kān** mi’od xašuv lanu **’awall ’išī ’iḥnā majmō‘a illi ḥāssə fi xaţar əw-min hādha el-’iḥsās…ḥāssə fī el- xaţar əw-šāyfə ‘ind-hā ru’yā** ‘atidit **mustaqbaliye əw-min hādha el-munţalaq mijtim‘āt… ’awall ’išī ‘ašān nwaşəl** meser **la-lmujtama‘ el-‘isfāwī wd-dilāwī əw-fi ’isrā’īl ‘āmmatan wnwaşəl kilmitnā lakull el-mas’ūlīn əw-** navhir lahem **’innu el-qađiyə meš qađiyyat** hitnagdut **la-**’iḥud **’iḥnā meš muškilitnā el-**’iḥud **ma‘ əd-dāliyə …meš muškilitnā ’ahəl əd-dāliyə.. ’iḥnā** eyn lanu ba‘aya **ma‘ ’ahəl əd-dāliyə** bixlal bixlal bixlal…
>
> We eh…eh Samira Azzam, Nuha Azzam, Sadiqa Dabyan, Azhar Zaher [and] Imtiyaz Azzam we are merely women ...Isifyan women who have a case that touches us in our feeling as Druze, as Isifyans, as mothers ...and it was very important to us. Firstly we are a group that feels in danger and from this feeling [the group] feels in danger and has a vision about the future... and from this perspective we meet together primarily to send a message to Isifyan and Dāliyan societies and to the general [society] in Israel, to send our word to all those who are responsible and make it clear to them that our case is not a matter of the resistance to merging, we don’t have an issue with merging with Dāliya, we don’t have an issue with the people of Dāliya, we don’t have an issue with the people of Dāliya at all at all at all.

As can be seen in excerpt 6, the two languages are involved in intra-sentential switching in a large number of the sentences in this opening statement, but Arabic contributed most of the morphemes and also provided the syntactic framework of the discourse, with Hebrew vocabulary embedded within it. The Hebrew insertions were

limited to single words and islands. In the mixed constituents, Arabic provided the late system morpheme */el/* from the Matrix Language, as expected.

However, in excerpt 7, the language of the same speaker indicates that monolingual Hebrew is more common in her discourse than CS. The ability to switch to Hebrew monolingual discourse indicates that on one hand, this speaker is as competent in the second language as she is in her first language which allows her to choose the code that better conveys her message in a given situation. On the other hand it indicates that the topic of the discourse affects the language choice of competent bilingual speakers. Arabic contributed a limited number of morphemes such as the preposition / *ma'*/ with or the definite article /el/ (Bold indicates the Arabic language):

Excerpt 7:

> kol hazman hayinu bi'ixud **ma' 'ahəl əd-dāliyə…**'ixud xivrati malei **əw**-šalem **el**-ba'aya **mtāb'itnā** ha-ba'aya šilanu šehayom anaxnu biyaxad kimikša axat **'isifya** vi-daliya suvlim mitasminim šel 'atid lo ţov …vi-ani yexula le-hasbir et 'atsmi…qodem kol qodem kol bo natxil mize **'innu** šetax **eš**-šipuţ **taba' 'isifya wəd-dāliyə** šel 'usifya vi-**dāliyə** kvar tsumtsam .. mišnat.. mišnot hašiv'im …'em kom ha-midina hayou lanu šev'im ve-arba' šev'im ve-arba' elf dunam šeţax šipuţ šel 'usifya vi-daliya axri ze ha-midina hifqi'a bišnot hašišim šev'im mašihu kmo šlošim va-xameš elf dunam mišeţax ha-šipuţ..ha-yom 'usifya vi-daliya yošvot 'al xameš 'sre elf dunam blvad..ma ze omer? ze omer še-anaxnu bi'etsm bimatsor ….
>
> We were always united with the people of Dāliya, we are completely united socially, our problem, our problem today we are together as one group in Isifya and Dāliya suffering from symptoms of a bad future, and I can explain

myself. First of all, let's begin with [the fact] that the city limits for Isifya and Dāliya have diminished since the seventies. With the rise of the state we had seventy four ...seventy four thousand donems of city limits for Isifya and Dāliya and after that the state confiscated in the sixties and seventies thirty five thousands donems from the city limits. Today Isifya and Dāliya stand on only fifteen thousand donems, what does this mean? That means we are actually in crisis.

Although Hebrew is the unmarked choice of excerpt 7, Arabic is still the Matrix Language in the mixed constituents since it provided the late system morphemes, */el/* the definite article, *'innu* "that" and *taba'* "of". The same pattern of language production can be seen in the discourse of another speaker from the group "The Scream of 'Isifya's Women," in the following excerpt (Bold indicates Arabic language):

Excerpt 8:

Bō-snān, Bō-snān nafs 'iš-šī kānat kamān qaryə durziyyə fīhā el-mu'đam drūz, el-yōm şaffū kamān 'aqalliyyə. 'iћnā kamān fī oto tahlix **el-yōm, lammā hinnī bibbdū yiwaћћdūnā iћnā min-şaffī min tamanţa'eš yimken nşaffī xames qurā arba' qurā 'aw sett qurā, el-yōm 'iћnā** mišartim **fī ij-jēš mna'ţī wlādnā biđī' 'umer-hn 'anšān iš**-širot **fī ij-jēš, 'iћnā** lo miqablim zxuyot **zayy el-yahūd lā min nāћēt** šeţax šipuţ **walā min nāћēt** efšaruyot latset **lad-dinyā əw** lihtqabel **fī maћallāt 'amal illi hī** ri'oya **ya'ni 'iћnā** miqupaћim mikol **l**-bћinot **əw fī nafs el-waqet biyjū** kufim **'alēnā** ha-xlaţa midinit **illi hī** lo luqaћat da'at **el**-anašim **'iћnā** lo šutafim, lo budekt matsav kalkali šeţaћ **el-wāqe' 'idhā hō** mat'im la'iћud **aw** lo mat'im la'iћud vi-kufim ze 'alenu bikoaћ ki **'iћnā** 'aravim bdyoq **hēk**

> Abu Sinān [for example], Abu Sinān is the same thing, it was also a Druze village, its majority were Druze, today they also ended up [as] a minority. We are also in the same process today, when they [Israeli officials] started to merge us [the Druze towns] we will end out of 18 [Druze towns] maybe 5, 4 or 6 villages. Today we serve in the army, we give our children, they lose years from their lives because of the service in the army, we do not receive the same rights as the Jews in terms of area of jurisdiction or opportunities to live our life and to get accepted in worthwhile jobs, meaning we are deprived from every angle and at the same time they come to us and enforce upon us a political decision which does not take into its consideration the opinion of the people, we are not partners, [the political decision] doesn't examine the economical situation [and] the landscape of the reality whether it's appropriate for a merger, and they enforce this on us with power since we are Arabs, it's exactly like this!

The speaker started out by addressing the audience in Arabic but gradually began to insert Hebrew single words and islands until, toward the end, Hebrew seemed to have become the unmarked choice. Here again Arabic is the Matrix language in the mixed constituents, as it provided the late system morphemes such as the definite article */el/* that preceded the Hebrew content morphemes such as in ***el***-*anašim* "the people", and the preposition *fī* "in".

The language used on the video "The Scream of 'Isifya's Women," does not deviate from that found on video VR4 of the meeting of the Dāliyat al-Carmel Council's members with local residents. This suggests that CS between Arabic and Hebrew is likely to be the preferred choice in public discourse in the Mount Carmel area. The speakers in these videos are likely to believe that CS code better conveys their messages to the

audience in this meeting, as well as to the general audience of the Mount Carmel area, who have access to these videos on the Karmel website.

5.4.1.1 Summary of the Findings of Face-to-Face Data

The face-to-face data suggest that a change in the participants and in the setting of the discourse affected the language behavior of the participants, particularly the unmarked communication code.

The analysis of the Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council discourse revealed that the unmarked code in VR1 and VR2, the two official meetings of the general assembly of the Dāliyat al-Carmel Local Council, is Hebrew. The use of Arabic was minimal, in fact Arabic appeared only within the intra-sentential switching as isolated single words or phrases. It is surprising that this meeting was conducted in Hebrew, because even though all of the participants are proficient in Hebrew, all of the members of the Council are native speakers of Arabic, and these meetings will be featured through the internet to the local residents of Mount Carmel area who are also native speakers of Arabic. The expected unmarked communication choice would be CS due to the fact that the Druze are fully competent in both languages.

We may conclude that the choice of Hebrew as the unmarked code in formal settings indicates that Hebrew is more appropriate in formal settings than either CS or Arabic, since Hebrew represents the central authority that is expected to audit the performance of the local authority. The language behavior of the members of the Local Council of

Dāliyat al-Carmel indicates the power of Hebrew over Arabic in the formal public settings that contradicts the overt language policy of Israel.

When local residents assemble, as in VR3, VR4, and VR5, CS was found to be the unmarked code of the informal discourse and more appropriate than other codes. These videos indicate that Arabic was not entirely the preferred choice of Druze speakers, as Hebrew was notably present within the CS clause as well as inter-sentential CS. In other words, the speakers were able to utilize their competence in both languages to better express their intentions and messages throughout the discourse. For example, in video 3, excerpt 3, the speaker utilizes Hebrew in the use of technical terms from the field of education and social work such as /mirkazim/ centers, /pʻilut noʻar vigil rax/ teenagers and preschoolers activities, /ţipuli vi-gam ħavayati/ therapeutic and experiential, and /madrixim ʻuvdim sotsyalim/ counselors and social workers.

However, the choice of Hebrew or CS as the unmarked code in the face-to-face data have not been accompanied by grammatical changes of the structure of the mixed constituents of the two languages. Arabic was the underlying ML, providing the structure of all the intra-sentential switching in the form of outsider late system morphemes and the word order of the mixed constituents as predicted by the MLF model.

These findings violate the asymmetrical principles of Myers-Scotton's model since Arabic is the ML, but Hebrew, the EL, is found in the discourse as much as Arabic, even more in some cases. In fact, these findings may raise questions on the universal application of Myers-Scotton's model, particularly in the case of the Arabic and Hebrew,

languages which largely overlap in their morphology and syntax structure. In such cases, it may be possible to identify the status of the ML by examining the contribution of system morphemes in the mixed constituents.

5.4.2 Codeswitching in Online Druze Public Communication

In this section I will examine the written CS in the talkbacks of Druze internet users, specifically the reactions to two items, one in Arabic and the other in Hebrew. The examination will include a total of 446 reactions[110] to the Hebrew article[111] which includes photos of the Druze fashion model, Angelina Fares (henceforth the Hebrew article), and a total of 105 reactions[112] to an Arabic poem titled "Your Marriage to a non-Druze Girl is Illigitimate[5]" (henceforth the Arabic poem) by a local poet from the Dāliyat al-Carmel area. These two items were published on the Hona website from the Mount Carmel area which is designed to attract the entire Druze community in Israel. Both items received a high enough number of reactions to constitute a valid sample.

Linguistically speaking, Druze commenters most often chose to express themselves online in four different ways: monolingual Arabic reactions, monolingual Hebrew reactions, monolingual English reactions and bilingual reactions comprised of both spoken Arabic and Hebrew. Bilingual reactions refer to spoken Arabic reactions written

[110] The examination included reactions from January 3, 2011 to February 9, 2011. Due to duplication, the total number of valid reactions for this item was 435.
[111] The article can be found at: http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=191&aid=3525. Date of access October 5, 2011.
[112] Due to duplications the total number of valid reactions for this item was 78.

in Hebrew script or CS of Arabic and Hebrew in which spoken Arabic is represented in either Arabic script or Hebrew script.

The Hebrew article received 60% (261) bilingual reactions, 38.62% (168) of the total were codeswitching between the two codes, spoken Arabic and Hebrew, in which most of the CS data, 31.98% (136) were Hebrew insertions within spoken Arabic clauses, and the rest were insertions between full sentences. With regard to Arabic reactions to the Hebrew article, the total was 29.87% (129) of the total reactions when combined with spoken Arabic reactions written in Hebrew script (20.91%) and Arabic only (8.96%) reactions. 30.57% (133) reactions were in Hebrew, and only 4 reactions were in English.

The Arabic poem received 41.7% (33) bilingual reactions, 28.2% (22) of the total were codeswitching between spoken Arabic and Hebrew, and 14.1% (11) of the total reactions were in spoken Arabic written in Hebrew script. Monolingual Arabic reactions written in Arabic script made up 37.18% (29) of the reactions, and 20.5% (16) reactions were in Hebrew.

Comparison of the findings of language choice in the reactions to the two items indicates that the language of the item affects the language choice in the reactions. Arabic seems to be a more common choice than either Hebrew or CS in the reactions to the Arabic poem, while in reactions to the Hebrew article the three codes, Arabic-only, Hebrew-only or CS appear equally in the written data. This means that none of the three choices can be said to be more common than the other two. Regardless of the script of the reactions, Arabic was the language choice in about half of the total number of the

reactions to the Arabic poem, whereas in the Hebrew article only one-third of the total reactions were in Arabic. When combining the CS reactions with the monolingual reactions to the Arabic poem, Hebrew appeared in only about half of the reactions, while Arabic appeared in the majority (79.5%). The use of Hebrew script dominated the reactions to both items, particularly those in response to the Hebrew article. Of the total reactions to the Hebrew article, 90.11% were in Hebrew script, while 62.82% of the total reactions to the Arabic poem were in Hebrew script.

Reaction number 16 posted in response to the Arabic poem and reaction number 157 posted in response to the Hebrew article demonstrate how oral Arabic is transliterated into Hebrew script, and emphasize the alternation between the two languages (Bold indicates Arabic language)[113]:

Reaction# 16[114]:

> בס אנה לא מבין שו דכלקוווווווווו??? כל ואחד חור בחיאתו
> ועושה מה שבא לו, הוא טוב לו היק מבסוט מעהא חוץ מזה אחנה מנאאמן
> אנו לזוואג' ק'יסמה ,,ק'סמתו ללזלמי שו דכלקו
>
> "**bass ’anā** lo mevin **šu daxallkuuuuuuu??? Kull wāhad ħurr bħayātu** veose ma še-ba lo, ho ţov lo **hēk mabşūţ ma‘hā** xuts mize **iħnā mināmen innu l-zawāj qisme, qisimtu lal-zalami šu daxalku"**
>
> But I don’t understand what business is it of yours??? Everyone has the right to act the way he wants and do what he feels like in his life, this is what he feels best for him, he is happy with her, besides we believe that marriage is a matter of fate, this is his fate what business is it of yours.

Reaction# 157[115]

באמת וד'ע מגעיל האי מש מפקרי באכרתה ? מש מפקרי באמה
ואבוהא וקרמתון ק'דאם אלנאס? מש מפקרי בוק'פתה ק'דאם רבנא יום
אלק'יאמה??!!!! האי כבר מרתדה

B'imet **wad'i'** mag'il **hāyy meş mfakkri bāxərt-hā? meš mfakkri b'immhā aw-'abūhā aw-karāmiton quddām in-nās? meš mfakkri bwaqfithā quddām rabbnā yōm al-qiyāme??!!! hāyy** kvar **murtadde**

"Really this is a disgraceful situation, is she not thinking of her Day of Judgment? Is she not thinking of her mother and father and their dignity in front of people? Is she not thinking of her place in front of God on the Day of Judgment? She is already apostate.

Close analysis of Hebrew representations of spoken Arabic phonemes reveals that the Druze commenters have established some conventions for writing Arabic phonemes in Hebrew script. The Arabic sounds <ث /th> represented as <'ת or ת > in Hebrew; <ذ/dh> represented as < 'ד> or less frequently represented as <ד > in Hebrew ; <ص / ş > represented as <ס> in Hebrew ; < ض / ḍ' > represented as <'ד> or less frequently represented as <ד > in Hebrew ;<ظ / đ> represented as <'ד > in Hebrew ; and <غ /gh> represented as <'ג> or less frequently represented as <ג > in Hebrew. It also appears that users chose to assign distinct written forms to the sounds <ق/q> as < 'ק> or less frequently represented as <ק >; <خ/x> as <'ח or כ> and <ج/j> as <'ג>[116]. With regard to vowels, it was interesting to find that Arabic short vowels were typically not represented

[21] See : http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=173&aid=3777. Date of access October 5, 2011.
[115] See : http://www.hona.co.il/news.aspx?cid=191&aid=3525. Date of access October 5, 2011.
[116] For a full description of the transliterations and glosses of Arabic and Hebrew sounds see Appendixes G and H.

in Hebrew script, however long vowels were assigned distinct representations such as the following: <ا /ā> as <א or אא >; < و/ū> as <ו> ; and <ي/ī> as <י>[117].

The adoption of Hebrew script to describe the spoken Arabic of Druze online communications is an interesting phenomenon since Arabic has more consonants than Modern Hebrew, and has ready symbols to use for these consonants. Moreover informal written Arabic, like informal written Hebrew, indicates only consonants with short vowels left out entirely. Therefore, informal written Hebrew does not offer a wider range of symbols to describe informal Arabic short vowels (Palfreyman and Al Kalil 2007). One may assume that the adoption of Hebrew is not related to technical phonetic support in order to represent a spoken genre and its phonetic sounds. Palfreyman and Al Khalil (2007) argue that the use of Latin letters to describe UAE vernacular in internet communication is an attempt to legitimize the writing of the vernacular by using the English language which has a different prestige base (2007:61). Druze internet users' choice of Hebrew script is merely a function of the alphabet one is educated in and uses on a daily basis.

5.4.2.1. The Grammatical Structure of the Written CS

The examples that will be discussed in this section show different mixes of Arabic and Hebrew in the online postings of Druze internet users. This analysis sheds light on

[117] Studies regarding bilingual computer-mediated communication of Arabic and English found that Arab internet users employ some numerical representation of Arabic sounds (Palfreyman and Al Khalil 2007; Werschauer et al., 2007), however, in this study there are no numerical representations of Arabic sounds in bilingual Hebrew Arabic reactions.

the grammatical structure of the CS sentence and which language's grammar dominates the morphosyntactic structure of the CS sentence.

In this section I will apply the principles of the MLF model, the system morpheme principle and the morpheme order principle to identify the Matrix language of the mixed constituents of the written CS. To recall, system morphemes and in particular, late system morphemes are expected to come from the ML and the word order of the mixed constituents should follow the ML order.

The data provide different grammatical structures of the mixed constituents, some of which comply with the Hebrew morphosyntactic framework, while the majority comply with the Arabic morphosyntactic framework. Arabic was found to be the Matrix Language in 85.76% (118) of the total CS reactions to the Hebrew article, while Hebrew was identified as the Matrix Language when Arabic isolated content morphemes were well formed in the Hebrew sentences. In all of these cases there was congruence between the word order of the two languages, which means that the determination of Hebrew as the ML was based on the absence of Arabic late system morphemes in such reactions.

Therefore, Hebrew was identified as the Matrix Language in 13.23 % (18) of the total CS reactions to Hebrew article. Arabic was the Matrix Language in 90% (18) of the total CS reactions to the Arabic poem, while Hebrew was found to be the Matrix Language in only two reactions to the Arabic poem. Hebrew singly occurring words were found in 46.15% (72) of the total CS reactions to both items. In 28.20% (44) reactions to both articles, Hebrew occurred as single words and islands in the same excerpt, and in 12.82%

(20) reactions Hebrew was inserted as islands. When Hebrew was the Matrix Language, singly occurring Arabic words were found in 9 reactions which is 5.76% of the total CS data of both items, and Arabic occurred as an island in 11 reactions, 7.05% of the total CS data of both items.

These findings suggest that Arabic dictates the morphosyntactic framework of the mixed constituents of Hebrew and Arabic in the Druze internet reactions to both the Hebrew article and the Arabic poem. Moreover, Arabic seems to contribute more morphemes than Hebrew in the mixed constituents, which means that the hierarchical relationship between the ML (Arabic) and the EL (Hebrew) is maintained in the written CS data on two levels, the syntactic structure of the mixed constituents and the quantity of morphemes of each language in the CS reactions.

Reaction number 314 illustrates the insertion of an Arabic content morpheme in the Hebrew Matrix Language and its grammatical framework. In reaction 314, all the system morphemes were provided by the Hebrew language and only the content morphemes "xalas- that's enough" and the particle "ya- you!" were provided by Arabic:

Reaction 314:

כל הכבוד אנג'י

כלס תשחררו כבר יא מוגבלים יא מטומטמים ... מה איכפת לכם מה זה הקנאה הזאת ..האבטלה וחוסר ההתפתחות שלכם גורמים לכם לעשות את זה...
צאו מהסרט ושכל אחד יסתכל על עצמו...
שיהיה לך המון בהצלחה...

Kol hakavod Angie

Xalas tišaxriru kvar **yā** mugvalim **yā** miţumtamim… ma expat laxem ma ze ha-kin'a hazot.. ha'vţala vexoser ha-hitpatxot šelaxem gormim laxem la'asot et ze… ts'o me-haserţ višexol exad yistakel 'al 'atsmo

šiyhye lax hamon b'hatslaxa

All the respect Angie!

That's enough, let it [topic] go, you limited people! You fools! What's it your business? What's [all] this envy [for]? Your unemployment and lack of development cause you to do this…Get out of this film and each one of you should look at himself

I wish you much success

However in reactions 279 and 329 Hebrew provided most of the morphemes although Arabic was the Matrix Language. In reaction 279 Arabic provided the subordinator *la'annu* "because" and in reaction 329 Arabic provided the preposition *'ala fikkra* "by the way" both of which are considered late system morphemes, therefore Arabic is the Matrix language:

Reaction 279

אכס תפו תתבישי קצת אפילו דגמני אבל לא בבגדים כאלה או תשמע
אני אציע לך הצעה טובה תצטלמי בערום יותר טוב כדאי לך לאנו עם בגדים או בלי בגדים….

exs tfū titbayši ktsat afilu dagmini aval lo bibgadim ka'ele ao tišmi'i ani atse' lax hatsa'a ţova titstalmi bi'irum yoter kidai lax **la'annu** 'em ao bli bgadim…

Yuck! Phooey! you should be a little ashamed, you [can] model but not in such clothes, or listen I will suggest to you a good suggestion, [go] photo yourself in the nude is even better, it's worth it since with or without clothes ….

Reaction 329

אנג'לינה פארס

ל 314 אתה חושב שאתה משכיל ומפותח עלא פקרא יש אפשרות שתשלח את אחותך לעשות בדיוק כמו אנג'לינה פארס ואתה תהיה האמירגן שלה . ווא‌אא‌אווו תדמיין .

Li- 314 ata xošev šiata maskil vimefotax **'ala fikkra** yeš efšarot šitišlax et axutxa la'sot bdyok kmo Angelina Fares viata tihye hameargen šela . wwaaaaaaww tidamyen .

To 314, you think you are educated and open-minded! By the way, there is a possibility to send your sister to do the same as Angelina Fares and you will be her manager. Wow, just imagine!

In reaction 31, one may think that Hebrew is the Matrix Language since Hebrew contributed the larger number of morphemes:

Reaction 31:

וחדה תתרמה פשוט אין מה להגיד ושתדעי לך אבשע דרוזית סורמאיתהא אחלה מנוגהק..ותלכי ללמוד קצת כבוד ..וגם חשוב מאוד שתדעי שאת כבר לא דרוזית חבובה פשוט נאס מתחת ל 0

Waħade tatrama pašuţ me'od eyn ma lehagid višetid'i lax **'abša'** druzit **şurmāythā 'aħla min-wajhik**.. vitilxi

lilmod ktsat kavod.. vigam xašuv me'od šetid'i šiat kvar lo druzit **ħabbūba** pašuţ **nās** mitaxat la-0

You are a low life, simply there is nothing to say, and to let you know, the shoe of the ugliest Druze girl is prettier than you. And go learn a little respect. And it's important for you to know that you are no longer a Druze girl my dear, simply below zero people [like you]

However, examination of the mixed constituent *višetid'i lax 'abša' druzit* (lines 1-2), reveals that Arabic, the Matrix Language, actually dictates the word order of the mixed constituents. In Arabic, the noun in the superlative phrase *druzit* "Druze girl" in Hebrew, comes after the Arabic superlative adjective *'abša*, ugliest, *'abša'druzit* "the ugliest Druze girl," while in Hebrew it precedes the superlative adjective and can be formed in two ways:

(a) ha-baxura ha-druzit ha-mixo'eret biyoter,
the-girl the-Druze (feminine) the–ugly (feminine) the-most

You are the ugliest Druze girl.

or

(b) ha-baxura ha-druzit haxi mixo'eret
the-girl the-Druze (feminine) the-most ugly (feminine) ,

You are the ugliest Druze girl.

Reaction 73 is a longer excerpt, in which the embedded language, Hebrew occurs as a single word, *tgova* "reaction", and as islands, *kol kax*, *lo mi'anyenet* and *yeš hevdel*

mašmaʿuti. In the last sentence of the excerpt, although Arabic contributed only the preposition *minhā* "from her", this qualifies it to be the Matrix Language since the prepositions are considered late system morphemes. The two foreign words "Facebook" and "silicon" are loan words and treated as content morphemes:

Reaction 73:

חשוב מאד

1- ליה כל כך מעטינא ק'ימה
יעני ליקו אקאם תגובה סאר פי
לא מעניינת
2- יש הבדל משמעותי טלעו בלפיסבוק עסוורהא יום מקאנת ענד
ל"לשיך" מופק ובין סורהא אסא עאמלה עמליאת תג'מיל וקמאן חאטה
סיליקון במנאטק' מועיינה ובעין מא תסתחי
3- תתעלמו מנהא לא שווה

xašuv me'od

1- **lēh** kol kax **maʿţina qīme yaʿni leku akām** tguva **şār fi** lo miʿanyenet

2- yeš hevdel mašmaʿuti **ţallaʿu bl**-facebook **ʿaşuwarhā yōm ma-kānat ʿend i-š-šēx mwafaq ow-bēn şuwarhā 'issā ʿamle ʿamaliyyāt tajmīl ow-kamān ħāţţa** silicon **bimanāţeq muʿayyane wb-ʿēn mā tisthe**

3- titʿalmu **minhā** lo šava

It is important

1. Why are you giving her such value? Look how many uninteresting reactions are already here
2. there is a significant difference, look at her photos on facebook on the day when she was at Sheikh Mwafaq's [house] and her photos now, she has done cosmetic work and also has silicon put in certain places, and with no shame
3. disregard her, she's not worth it

One of the most common mixed constituents between Arabic and Hebrew in the data is the combination of the Arabic definite article, the late system morpheme, followed by a Hebrew noun, a content morpheme, or the use of *'innu* "that," the bridge system morpheme that connects two entities. Reaction 183 exemplifies the combination of the Arabic definite article and the Hebrew noun, ***al-hanhala*** "the management" and the use of *'innu*:

Reaction # 183

אלחק עלא אלהנהלה תעית הונא ילי בתקבל תחוט הייק סור
ובתקבל תפרסם הייק כתבה ובמיוחד אינו צוות אלהנהלה אגלבהן "דרוז
" יעני ילי עמתעמלו יעני אשקרה איחנא גאיין נפדח אלבנת

al-ħaqq ‘ala al-hanhala **ta‘et Hona yalli btiyqbal tħoţ hēk şuwar wb-tiyqbal** tifarsem hēk **katava vebimyoxad ’innu** tsevet **al**-hanhala **’aghlabhin “drūz” ya‘ni yalli ‘am-ti‘malū ya‘ni ’aškara ’iħnā jāyen nifd’aħ al-binet**

It is the fault of Hona’s management that agrees to put such photos and agrees to publish such an article, especially since most of the management staff are Druze. Meaning, what you [as Druze] are doing is obviously intending to disgrace the girl

It is interesting to note that Druze Internet users tend to transliterate the Arabic definite article into Hebrew as /אל- al/ and not as /el/, which is very common among the Druze in Israel in general. They also seem to keep the Arabic definite article as /al/ or /l/ when followed by an alveolar or dental sound that is meant to assimilate to the following consonant. I assume that the reason behind keeping /al/ most likely has to do with formal

Arabic writing in which the definite article is always written as /al/ although it might be pronounced differently in specific cases. Another reason may be that there is no ready Hebrew symbol that stands for the sound /el/.

5.5 Summary and Conclusions

The major goal in this chapter has been to determine the syntactic nature of CS in discourse Druze public discourse in both face-to-face interactions and written speech taken from online talkback responses to Arabic and Hebrew items. The analysis of the two data sets shows clearly that the bilingual production follows the predictions of the Myers-Scotton's MLF model regarding the system morphemes and word order principles. In both written speech and face-to-face data, Arabic was identified as the ML, provided the potential system morphemes and dictated the order of the mixed constituents. The mixed constituents were constrained by the syntactic structure of the ML and followed the morpheme system principle. Moreover, the analysis indicates that when the two languages intersect, Arabic, the first language of the Druze in Israel, does not show any signs or grammatical signals of the waning process or a potential shift to Hebrew.

However, Arabic being the underlying grammatical structure of the Druze CS did not guarantee its prevalence as the unmarked choice in the data. The data suggest that the settings and format of the discourse are major factors affecting Druze language production. Hebrew was the common choice in formal settings in the face-to-face data,

while CS was the unmarked code in informal settings of the same face-to-face data. The CS found in this data range from intra-sentential to inter-sentential switching, and Hebrew was inserted as singly occurring words, phrases, or as full independent clauses.

The written CS format suggests a different picture, with Arabic being the unmarked code in the reactions to the Arabic item, but in reactions to the Hebrew item, none of the three choices, Arabic, Hebrew or CS can be considered the unmarked choice. In this case, switching from Arabic to Hebrew was distinguished by single word occurrences and dependent phrases of Hebrew, the EL. Monolingual reactions of Arabic and Hebrew combined together were more common than CS in the written data, but CS seems to be more common than monolingual code in the informal face-to-face data than in the formal face-to-face data While in the face-to-face data intra-CS and inter-CS were common, the written CS format is distinguished by single word occurrences of Hebrew, the EL.

I assume that differences in the nature of face-to-face language as opposed to written language affect the language use and CS behavior of Druze. The written CS differs from that of the spoken CS in the degree of complexity, formality, and consciousness involved. Moreover, written CS depends upon lexical presentations whereas face-to-face CS relies on nonverbal communication such as facial expression or tone of voice.

Moreover, this study raises questions with regard to the universal application of Myers-Scotton's model. The findings of the face-to-face Arabic-Hebrew CS violate the asymmetrical hierarchy principles offered by the model, as Arabic on the one hand provides the system morphemes, which qualifies it as the Matrix Language of the

discourse, yet on the other hand it does not provide more morphemes than Hebrew as would be expected from the ML. One explanation for Myers-Scotton's model falling short in its application to the Arabic-Hebrew CS may be that the two languages have significant similarities in the morphological and syntactic structures, and as a result, the morpheme system principle may not be the best test for identifying the ML in this case.

To summarize, one of the most important implications of this chapter is that the Druze language attitudes toward Hebrew found in previous chapters are reflected in their linguistic behavior. Positive language attitudes toward Hebrew are reflected in the extensive use of CS in both oral and written formats. The widespread use of CS as the unmarked code among the Druze community in Israel raises two implications, one is that Hebrew plays a major role in Druze linguistic and cultural identity, and the other is that the first language, Arabic, is undergoing a decaying process that may eventually lead to a shift to the second language, Hebrew.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions

The main purpose of this dissertation has been to investigate the language behavior and underlying language attitudes of the Druze in Israel in order to shed light on the roles of Arabic and Hebrew in the Druze community in Israel. The study has examined four sociolinguistic fields: language attitude, language displayed in the Druze linguistic landscape, language production and consumption in the Druze websites, and codeswitching between Arabic and Hebrew.

The findings of the language attitude questionnaire have revealed two major trends, one being that when participants are grouped according to age, education, gender and military service, they display conflicting attitudes toward both Arabic and Hebrew. The fact that a significant number of Druze exhibit inconsistent attitudes toward their first language is indicative of the conflicting feelings found in a community whose group identity is in flux. Moreover, the patterns of inconsistency seem to be in line with general sociolinguistic patterns of language shift. The other significant finding is that three major segments of the population, younger Druze, those with lower levels of education, and females, were found to express significantly more positive attitudes toward Hebrew, their second language. This finding may be instrumental in predicting future language shift among the Druze, especially since these three groups have been reported in the literature to be salient in the process of language change. The expression of positive attitude toward Hebrew among these three groups indicates identification with Hebrew and its

representation of modernity and status on one hand, and its utility as a means of social mobility on the other. Such roles are especially meaningful to segments of the Druze community with the least social status, such as women.

Examination of the markings of the Druze linguistic landscape provided a wealth of material on the socioeconomic roles of Arabic and Hebrew. The linguistic landscape data suggest that the linguistic capital of both Arabic and Hebrew vary from one Druze area to another according to the socioeconomic connections of Druze with the surrounding local markets in a given area. The Mount Carmel area is deeply connected with the Jewish-Israeli market, and Hebrew was found to have greater capital than Arabic in this area. Hebrew virtually dominated the communication in the space marks of the main streets as well as in the neighborhoods of the Mount Carmel area. Yet in Druze linguistic landscape items in Shafa'Amer and the neighborhoods of the Yarka-Julis area, both of which are part of a local market that is made up primarily of Palestinian-Israelis, Arabic was found to have greater linguistic capital than Hebrew. Such differences suggest that Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital plays a role in situations of language shift, as local communities with closer socioeconomic ties to the dominant language adopt it as a means of public communication more quickly than less integrated local communities. .

The findings regarding the choice of language in the Druze websites suggest that the language of online consumption and production is a reflection of such factors as the anticipated audience, the type of domain featured, and the age of the targeted user. Websites addressing primarily Druze populations seem to expect that Hebrew will be

accepted as the language of consumption, whereas websites that target the Palestinian-Israeli minority in the Lower Galilee expect that Arabic will be better received. These expectations appear to be based on website owners' and advertisers' expectation that Hebrew enjoys a greater capital than Arabic among the Druze, while Arabic is believed to have a greater value than Hebrew among the Palestinian-Israelis. This conclusion reconfirms the Linguistic Landscape findings in that in any given Druze area, sociolinguistic and economic relations with the local market have an effect on the language behavior of the Druze population. Druze of the Mount Carmel area seem to identify more than other Druze with Hebrew as a more effective means of communication as well as identifying with the modern culture that it represents.

With regard to the language consumption of Druze internet users, Arabic seems to be the choice of Mount Carmel users, yet in domains related to cultural and local traditions such as wedding congratulations and obituaries, and literary works such as poetry, Druze users continue to favor Arabic. Druze users of websites that are not designed to exclusively address the Mount Carmel area typically choose mixed language as their language of consumption. Mixed language was also found to be the most common code in domains that appealed to young Druze, such as those featuring graduation ceremonies and school activities.

This study also attempted to examine Druze public codeswitching behavior in spoken and written language production. In the written data, codeswitching was found to be the unmarked code of the talkback responses on the majority of Druze websites, with the

exception of two websites from the Mount Carmel area, in which Hebrew was the primary language of production. In the spoken data, Hebrew was found to be the unmarked code in official settings in the Mount Carmel area, and codeswitching was the unmarked code in informal settings. In both sets of data, Arabic was found to rule the morphosyntactic framework of the mixed constituents, which means that Arabic is the Matrix Language and provides the underlying grammatical structure of the mixed constituents. The examination also showed that spoken codeswitching is more advanced than the written form, in that the speakers' language production involves switching between independent clauses as well as single words and islands of the Embedded Language. In written codeswitching single words were used more often than islands or independent clauses. Because of the grammatical structure of the mixed constituents, we may conclude that Arabic does not show signs of waning in its grammatical structure when in linguistic contact with Hebrew. However, quantity measurements of the participants' languages show that Hebrew is very dominant in the public discourse, and in fact, codeswitching is found to the more common unmarked choice. The dominance of Hebrew and codeswitching in Druze language production can be interpreted as a desire to adopt a certain posture that is more compatible with the dominant culture and language. The widespread use of mixed language signifies the importance of the local cultural identity that is represented by spoken Arabic, as well as that of the non-local cultural identity represented by Hebrew. With this transition, however, it is interesting to find that Standard Arabic is significantly under-represented, especially in the written form of Druze internet users' language production. It seems that the increased use of Hebrew in

public written discourse, a role previously held by MSA, dictates a shift from the MSA-dialect diglossia to a new power relation that is manifested by mixing spoken Arabic and Hebrew as a form of communication that represents both local identity and the language that represents modernity and technology.

We may also conclude that Arabic as a language of production appears to have less value than Hebrew in the Mount Carmel area and among younger Druze. Hebrew quantitatively dominates most of the domains of language consumption and production in the Mount Carmel area, and in other Druze areas Arabic appears to be losing its status in public settings in favor of codeswitching. One of the questions raised by these findings is whether the relatively high capital of Hebrew in the Mount Carmel area and particularly among younger Druze, is predictive of a language shift in other areas and among other age groups as economic connections and language contact with the Jewish-Israeli market become more intertwined. I expect that as Druze local markets become more firmly linked to the Jewish Israeli market, Arabic and codeswitching production will wane in favor of Hebrew, as is currently the case in the Mount Carmel area

Another question raised by these findings is whether future generations of Druze will continue to produce cultural and literary works in Arabic, or if they will eventually choose to present these works in Hebrew. If this shift does occur, the daily and intensive cultural and linguistic contact of young Druze with Israelis in the workplace, institutes of higher education, and the Israeli army will likely have been a major contributing factor.

Future Research

Several further studies can be built on the findings gained from this study, both in terms of content and methodology. First of all, the study of language use and behavior among the Druze community in Israel can be expanded to examine a larger sample of Druze towns from the Lower Galilee and Upper Galilee areas. Additionally, for comparison purposes, future research can include Syrian Druze from the Golan Heights. The investigation of the language behavior of the Druze in the Golan Heights will provide important comparative perspectives on language choice and use as a reflection of their cultural and communal identity. This investigation will yield valuable information since the Druze of this area have been socially and politically intertwined with Syrian rather than Israeli society, yet their economy is largely dependent upon the Israeli market.

This study made use of data obtained from public communications, however further research should concentrate on data that can be obtained through personal interviews and field study observations. In addition future studies should incorporate qualitative analysis methodology such as the matched guise technique to investigate language attitude and discourse analysis.

The present study showed that two major segments of the Druze community in Israel, young people and women, hold a significantly more positive attitude toward Hebrew, their second language. Future research should specifically concentrate on these two segments of the population in order to further study their language behavior and the

factors that may affect this behavior, or cause an uneven language change among these two groups.

Another factor that should be taken into consideration for future study is education and its effect on younger Druze and women. The growing number of Druze women attending higher education institutions means that more women are exposed to Hebrew speakers, modern and global cultural values, and opportunities to achieve social mobility. These trends are all believed to affect women's language ideology and behavior. Special attention should be given to the Druze school system and its curriculum to determine their effect on young Druze in terms of language proficiency and attitude as well as on their national and cultural identity.

Finally, the application of the MLF model as proposed by Myers-Scotton has revealed potential problems in contexts in which the Matrix Language and the Embedded Language largely overlap in morphology and syntax. The MLF model appeared to fall short in predicting convergence from the Matrix language to the Embedded language in this context especially since the first language, Arabic, provided the underlying morphosyntactic structure of the CS, but the second language, Hebrew dominated the surface realizations. For this reason, future CS research should be expanded to enhance the understanding of this phenomena and to extend the theoretical application of Myers-Scotton's model to CS that involves language varieties that share morphology and syntax such as Arabic and Hebrew or Standard Arabic and Arabic dialects.

Finally, in addition to formal aspects of CS analysis, social aspects of this phenomenon can be examined, with potentially fruitful results and insights into CS in communities undergoing language shift. The diversity found among Druze communities in Israel provide a rich setting in which to examine the social meanings and uses of this phenomenon. Such a study would not only tell us more about the Druze, but may also provide new theoretical insights about sociolinguistic variation and change.

Appendix A: Language Attitude Questionnaire: Arabic Version

1. لغة الاستبيان

□ اللغة العربية
□ اللغة العبرية

2. أسكن حالياً في

□ منطقة عربية غير مختلطة مع دروز
□ منطقة يهودية
□ معسكر جيش
□ ابو سنان
□ البقيعة
□ بيت جن
□ جث
□ جولس
□ حرفيش
□ دالية الكرمل
□ الرامة
□ ساجور
□ شفاعمرو
□ عسفيا
□ عين الأسد
□ كسرى
□ كفر سميع

□ كفر ياسيف
□ المغار
□ يانوح
□ يركا

3. الجنس

□ أنثى
□ ذكر

4. ما هو عمرك؟

5. الوضع العائلي هو

□ أعزب/عزباء
□ متزوج/ة مع أطفال
□ متزوج/ة بدون أطفال

□ آخر

6. ثقافتي العلمية

□ ابتدائية – إعدادية

□ ثانوية

□ فوق ثانوي بدون لقب جامعي

□ جامعية

7. مدرستي الاعدادية هي مدرسة

□ درزية

□ عربية

□ يهودية

□ مختلطة درزية عربية

□ مختلطة عربية يهودية

□ عسكرية

□ سؤال غير مناسب

8. مدرسة الثانوية هي مدرسة

□ درزية

□ عربية

□ يهودية

□ مختلطة درزية عربية

□ مختلطة عربية يهودية

□ عسكرية

□ سؤال غير مناسب

9. مهنتي تعتبر

□ حكومية

□ عسكرية

□ صاحب/ة مصلحة شخصية

□ أخرى

10. الخدمة العسكرية

□ حالياً في الجيش

□ أنهيت الخدمة العسكرية الإلزامية كاملة

□ التحقت بالجيش لكنني لم أكمل الخدمة الإلزامية

□ لم التحق بعد بسبب الجيل

□ لم التحق بالجيش أو أكمل خدمتي العسكرية لأسباب دينية

□ لم التحق بالجيش أو أكمل خدمتي العسكرية لأسباب ضميرية

□ لم التحق بالجيش أو أكمل خدمتي العسكرية لأسباب أخرى

11. كيف تقيّم كفاءتك في اللغة العربية الفصيحة؟

□ ممتازة

□ فوق متوسطة

□ متوسطة

□ اقل من متوسطة

□ متدنية

12. كيف تقيّم كفاءتك في اللغة العبرية؟

□ ممتازة

□ فوق متوسطة

□ متوسطة

□ اقل من متوسطة

□ متدنية

13. اتقاني للغة العربية يعني لي كثيراً

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

14. اتقاني للغة العبرية يعني لي كثيراً

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

15. أتمنى لو كانت لغتي الأولى العبرية وليست العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

16. الدروز هم عرب دون أي علاقة للغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

17. الدروز يتكلّمون لغة خاصة

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

18. أعتقد أن اللغة العربية أنيقة أكثر من اللغة العبرية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

19. أستطيع أن أعبّر عن مواضيع معينة باللغة العبرية بشكل أفضل من اللغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

20. اللغة العربية مهمة للتواصل مع العالم العربي

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

21. اللغة العربية مهمة للتواصل مع الدروز الآخرين

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

22. أعتقد أن اللغة العبرية متطورة أكثر من اللغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

23. توجهي للغة العبرية أصبح ايجابياً أكثر بسبب خدمتي العسكرية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

24. مناقشة المواضيع السياسية باللغة العبرية من الممكن أن تكون أنجح من مناقشتها باللغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

25. الأحاسيس والمشاعر من الممكن التعبير عنها بشكل انجح باللغة العبرية من اللغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

26. أعتقد أن اللغة العبرية أدق ومحددة أكثر من اللغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

27. اللغة العبرية مهمة للتواصل مع الاسرائيليين

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

28. احترامي لمتكلمي للغة العبرية أزداد أكثر بسبب خدمتي العسكرية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

□ سؤال غير مناسب

29. احترامي لمتكلمي للغة العبرية أزداد أكثر بسبب مهنتي

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

30. الدروز الذين يتكلمون العبرية بطلاقة ينالون إعجابي كثيراً

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

31. اشعر بخجل عندما أتلقى انتقاداً بشأن لغتي العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

32. أستطيع أن اعبر عن نفسي بسهولة باللغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

33. أرغب في أن تصبح اللغة العبرية لغة التدريس في حصص العلوم مثل الرياضيات والبيولوجيا والكيمياء

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

34. الدروز الذين يتكلمون اللغة العربية بطلاقة ينالون اعجابي كثيراً

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

35. الدروز في إسرائيل مهتمون أكثر باللغة العبرية من العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

36. أشعر بفخر عندما أتلقى إطراء لاتقاني للغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

37. محافظة الدروز في إسرائيل على اللغة العربية تقوّي صلتهم بتراثهم

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

38. اللغة العربية مهمة من اجل المحافظة على علاقة مع التراث الاسلامي

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

39. عندما أزور قرية أو مدينة عربية في داخل إسرائيل أميل الى تجنّب اللغة العبرية في كلامي

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

40. اشعر بفخر عندما أتلقى إطراء لاتقاني للغة العبرية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

41. عندما أزور مدينة يهودية أتكلم دائماً بالعبرية مع أي شخص, لا فرق إذا كان يهودياً أم عربياً

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

42. يمكن اعتبار شخص ما إسرائيلي لأنّه يتكلم العبرية بطلاقة

موافق بشدة

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

43. أرغب أن تصبح اللغة العبرية لغة التعليم في المدارس الدرزية بدلا من اللغة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

44. أفضل مشاهدة المسلسلات ت والبرامج الترفيهية العربية على مشاهدة البرامج الترفيهية العبرية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

45. المحافظة على اللغة العربية الفصيحة لدى الدروز تقوّي صلتهم بتراثهم الديني

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

46. الشعر والروايات العربية اقرب لقلبي من الشعر والروايات العبرية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

47. سأكون راضياً إذا ما أبنائي درسوا وعرفوا اللغة العبرية أكثر من أي لغة اخرى

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

48. كنت أفضّل أن يدرس أبنائي في المدارس الثانوية العبرية لأعدادهم بشكل أفضل للدراسة الجامعية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

49. معرفة اللغة العبرية مثل الناطقين بها سوف يفتح امامي فرص عمل كثيرة

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

50. عندما أزور مصر أو الأردن أتجنب استعمال اللغة العبرية مع أي شخص كان

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

51. عندما أسمع فتاة درزية تتكلم بطلاقة اللغة العبرية أشعر بفخر كبير

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

52. يقلقني الاستعمال المتزايد للغة العبرية عند أبناء الطائفة الدرزية في إسرائيل

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

53. كوني أتكلّم اللغة العربية كلغة أم هذا يعني أن أنني عربي

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

لا علاقة للغة العربية بهويتي

54. الاستعمال المتزايد للغة العبرية عند الدروز يؤثر سلبياً على لغتهم العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

55. كون الدروز في إسرائيل يتكلمون اللهجة الفلسطينية لذلك فهم فلسطينيون

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

□ اللهجة الفلسطينية لا علاقة لها بهويّتي

56. احترامي للمتكلمين بالعربية أزداد بسبب خدمتي بالجيش

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

□ سؤال غير مناسب لي

57. اتقاني للغة العربية سيحسّن من إنجازاتي

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

58. عندما أتكلّم بالعبرية أحرص على اختيار اللفظ "السليم" الخالي من أيّ أثر للكنة العربية

□ موافق بشدة

□ موافق

□ لا رأي لي

□ غير موافق

□ غير موافق بشدة

Appendix B: Language Attitude Questionnaire: Hebrew Version

1. השפה של השאלון
השפה הערבית
השפה העברית

2. אני כעת גר/ה ב

אזור ערבי לא מעורב עם דרוזים

אזור יהודי

מחנה צבאי

אבו-סנאן

פקיעין

בית ג'ן

ג'ת

ג'וליס

חורפיש

דלית אל-כרמל

ראמה

סאג'ור

שפרעם

עוספיה

עין אל-אסד

כסרא

כפר סמיע

כפר יאסיף

מוע'אר

יאנוח

ירכא

3. מין

נקבה

זכר

4. מה הגיל שלך?

5. מצב משפחתי

רווק/ה

נשוי /אה עם ילדים

נשוי /אה ללא ילדים

אחר

6. השכלתי

יסודית/חטיבת ביניים

תיכונית

על תיכונית

ללא תואר אקדמי

השכלה אוניברסיטאית

7. בית הספר של חטיבת ביניים שלי הוא

דרוזי

ערבי

יהודי

מעורב דרוזי-ערבי

מעורב ערבי-יהודי

צבאי

שאלה לא חלה עליי

8. בית הספר התיכון שלי הוא

דרוזי

ערבי

יהודי

מעורב דרוזי-ערבי

מעורב ערבי-יהודי

צבאי

שאלה לא חלה עליי

9. המקצוע שלי נחשב

ממשלתי

צבאי

עסק פרטי

אחר

10. השירות הצבאי

כעת אני נמצא בצבא

השלמתי את השירות הצבאי שלי

הצטרפתי לצבא אך לא השלמתי את השירות הצבאי שלי

עדיין לא הצטרפתי לצבא בגלל שאני מתחת לגיל הנדרש

לא הצטרפתי לצבא מסיבות דתיות

לא הצטרפתי לצבא מסיבות אידיאולוגיות

לא הצטרפתי לצבא מסיבות אחרות

11. איך היית מעריך/ה את בקיאותך בשפה הערבית הסטנדרטית

מצוינת

מעל לממוצע

ממוצעת

מתחת לממוצע

נמוכה

12. איך היית מעריך/ה את בקיאותך בעברית

מצוינת

מעל לממוצע

ממוצעת

מתחת לממוצע

נמוכה

13. העובדה שאני מדבר ערבית באופן שוטף חשובה לי מאוד

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

14. העובדה שאני מדבר עברית באופן שוטף חשובה לי מאוד

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

15. הייתי חפץ לו השפה העברית הייתה שפת האם הראשונה שלי במקום השפה הערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

16. הדרוזים הם ערבים ללא כל קשר לשפה הערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

17. הדרוזים מדברים שפה מיוחדת

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

18. אני חושב שהשפה הערבית היא יותר אלגנטית מהשפה העברית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

19. בנושאים מסוימים אני מביע את דעתי יותר טוב בעברית מאשר בערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

20. השפה הערבית חשובה על מנת לתקשר עם העולם הערבי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

21. השפה הערבית חשובה על מנת לתקשר עם דרוזים אחרים

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

22. אני חושב שהשפה העברית יותר מתקדמת מהשפה הערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

23. העמדה שלי כלפי העברית נהייתה חיובית יותר כתוצאה משירותי הצבאי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

24. נושאים פוליטיים ניתן לדון בהם בעברית באופן יותר יעיל מערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

25. רגשות ואמוציות ניתן להביעון באופן יותר יעיל בעברית מאשר בערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

26. אני חושב שעברית יותר מדויקת מערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

27. השפה העברית חשובה על מנת לתקשר עם הישראלים

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

28. ההערכה שלי לדוברי השפה העברית גדלה בשל השירות הצבאי שלי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

שאלה לא חלה עליי

29. הערכתי לדוברי עברית גדלה בשל המקצוע שלי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

30. דרוזים שמדברים עברית באופן שוטף עושים רושם רב עליי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

31. אני חש במבוכה כאשר אני מקבל ביקורת על הערבית שלי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

32. אני יכול בקלות להביע את עצמי בשפה הערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

33. הייתי מעדיף שהשפה העברית תיהפך להיות שפת ההוראה של מקצועות המדע כמו

מתמטיקה, ביולוגיה וכימיה

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

34. דרוזים שמדברים ערבית באופן שוטף עושים רושם חיובי רב עליי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

35. הדרוזים בישראל מעוניינים יותר בעברית מאשר בערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

36. אני חש בגאווה כאשר אני מקבל מחמאה על הבקיאות שלי בשפה הערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

37. שימור השפה הערבית מחזק את קשר הדרוזים למורשתם

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

38. השפה הערבית חשובה כדי לשמור על קשר עם המורשת האסלאמית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

39. כאשר אני מבקר כפר או עיר ערבית בישראל אני נוטה להימנע מלדבר עברית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

40. אני חש בגאווה כאשר אני מקבל מחמאה על הבקיאות שלי בעברית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

41. כאשר אני מבקר בעיר יהודית אני רק מדבר בעברית ללא כל התחשבות אם בן השיח

ערבי או יהודי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

42. מישהו יכול להיחשב ישראלי אם הוא מדבר עברית באופן שוטף

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

43. הייתי מעדיף שהעברית תחליף את הערבית כשפת ההוראה בבתי הספר הדרוזיים

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

44. אני מעדיף לצפות בבידור, בתוכניות ובסדרות טלוויזיה בערבית מאשר אלו שבעברית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

45. שימור הערבית הסטנדרטית מחזק את קשר הדרוזים עם מורשתם הדתית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

46. השירה והסיפור הערבי קרובים ללב שלי יותר מהשירה והסיפור העברי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

לא מסכים בכלל

47. אהיה שבע-רצון אם הילדים שלי ילמדו וישלטו בשפה העברית יותר מכל שפה אחרת

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

48. הייתי מעדיף שהילדים שלי ילמדו בבית ספר תיכון עברי כדי להכין אותם יותר טוב

לאוניברסיטה

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

49. ידיעת השפה עברית באופן שוטף כמו דוברי העברית כשפת אם יגדיל עבורי את

הזדמנויות העבודה

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

50. כאשר אני מבקר בירדן ובמצרים אני נמנע מלהשתמש בעברית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

51. כאשר אני שומע בחורה דרוזית מדברת עברית באופן שוטף הדבר מעורר בי גאווה

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

52. אני מודאג מהשימוש הגובר של השפה העברית על ידי הדרוזים בישראל

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

53. היותי דובר ערבית כשפת אם משמע הדבר שאני ערבי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

אין לה כל קשר עם זהות שלי

54. השימוש הגובר של העברית על ידי הדרוזים משפיע לרעה על שפתם הערבית

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

55. היות והדרוזים בישראל מדברים את המבטא הפלסטיני, הם איפוא נחשבים פלסטינים

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

מבטא הפלסטיני אין לו כל קשר עם זהות שלי

56. ההערכה שלי כלפי דוברי הערבית גברה כתוצאה מהשירות הצבאי שלי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

השאלה לא חלה עליי

57. הבקיאות שלי בשפה הערבית אמורה לשפר את ההישיגים שלי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

58. כאשר אני מדבר עברית, אני זהיר מאוד בבחירת המבטא "הנכון" שלא מראה כל ראיה

של מבטא ערבי

מסכים מאוד

מסכים

אין לי דיעה

לא מסכים

לא מסכים בכלל

Appendix C: Translated Questionnaire into English

1. Questionnaire language
□ Arabic

□ Hebrew

2. Currently I reside in
□ An Arab town not integrated with Druze

□ Jewish town

□ Military Camp

□ Abu Sinan

□ Biqei'a/ Piki'in

□ Byat Jann

□ Jath-th

□ Julis

□ ħurfeish

□ Dāliyat al-Carmel

□ al-Rrāmi

□ Sājur

□ Shafa -'Amer

□ 'Isfiya

□'Ayn al-Asad

□ Kisra

□ Kafr-sumei'

□ Kafr-Yāsif

□ al-Maghār

□ Yānūḥ

□ Yarka

3. Gender
□ Female

□ Male

4. What is your age?

5. Marital Status
□ Single

□ Married with children

□ Married with no children

□ Other

6. My Education
□ Elementary - Middle school

□ High School

□ Higher education without a university title degree

□ University

7. My Middle school is
□ Druze

□ Arab

□ Jewish

□ Mixed Druze –Arab

□ Mixed Arab – Jewish

□ Military

□ Not applicable

8. My High school is

□ Druze

□ Arab

□ Jewish

□ Mixed Druze –Arab

□ Mixed Arab – Jewish

□ Military

□ Not applicable

9. My occupation is considered
□ Governmental

□ Military

□ Private Business

□ Other

10. Military service
□ Currently in the army

□ I completed my military service

□ I joined the army but I did not complete my term

□ I have not joined the army since I am under the required age

□ I did not join the army due to religious beliefs

□ I did not join the army due to ideological beliefs

□ I did not join the army due to other reasons

11. How would you evaluate your standard Arabic proficiency
□ Excellent

□ Above average

□ Average

□ Below average

□ Low

12. How would you evaluate your Hebrew proficiency
□ Excellent

□ Above average

□ Average

□ Below average

□ Low

13. Being fluent in Arabic means a lot to me
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

14. Being fluent in Hebrew means a lot to me
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

15. I wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

16. Druze are Arabs without any connection to the Arabic language
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

17. Druze speak a unique language
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

18. I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

19. I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

20. The Arabic language is important in communicating with the Arab World
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

21. The Arabic language is important in communicating with other Druze
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

22. I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

23. My attitude toward Hebrew is more positive as a result of my military service
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

24. Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

25. Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

26. I think that Hebrew is more precise and accurate than Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

27. The Hebrew language is important in communicating with Israelis
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

28. My appreciation for Hebrew speakers has increased due to my military service
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

□ Not applicable

29. My appreciation for Hebrew speakers has increased because of my occupation
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

30. Druze who speak Hebrew fluently really impress me
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

31. I feel embarrassed when I receive criticism about my Arabic language
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

32. I can easily express myself in Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

33. I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

34. Druze who speak Arabic fluently really impress me
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

35. The Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

36. I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Arabic proficiency
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

37. Preserving the Arabic language strengthens Druze connections to their heritage
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

38. The Arabic language is important in order to maintain ties to Islamic heritage
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

39. When I visit an Arab village or city in Israel I tend to avoid speaking in Hebrew

□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

40. I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

41. When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone (Jewish or Arab) in Hebrew
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

42. One can be considered Israeli if he/she speaks Hebrew fluently.
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

43. I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

44. I prefer to watch Arabic TV programs, series and entertainment rather than the Hebrew ones
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

45. Preserving the standard Arabic language strengthens Druze connections to their religious heritage
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

46. Arabic poetry and stories are closer to my heart than those of Hebrew ones
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

47. I will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any other language

□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

48. I would have preferred to have my children study in a Hebrew high school to prepare them better for university

□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

49. Being as fluent in Hebrew as its native speakers will open more job opportunities for me

□ Strongly Agree

□ Agree

□ Neither Agree nor Disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly Disagree

50. When I visit Jordan and Egypt, I avoid using Hebrew

□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

51. When I hear a young Druze woman speaks Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

52. I am concerned about the increased use of Hebrew by Druze in Israel
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

53. Being a native speaker of Arabic means that I am an Arab
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

□ The Arabic language has nothing to do with my identity

54. The increased use of Hebrew by Druze negatively affects their Arabic language
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

55. Since Druze in Israel speak the Palestinian dialect, they are considered Palestinians
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

□ The Palestinian dialect has nothing to do with my identity

56. My appreciation for Arabic speakers has increased due to my military service
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

□ Not applicable

57. Mastering the Arabic language will improve my accomplishments
□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

58. When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the "correct" pronunciation without any evidence of an Arabic accent

□ Strongly agree

□ Agree

□ Neither agree nor disagree

□ Disagree

□ Strongly disagree

Appendix D: Grouping of the Questions

Group One: Preference toward Hebrew when Compared to Arabic

Statement 15: *I wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic*.

Statement 22: *I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic*.

statement 26: *I think that Hebrew is more precise and accurate than Arabic*.

Group Two: Preference toward Arabic when Compared to Hebrew

Statement 18: *I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew*.

Statement 44: *I prefer to watch Arabic language TV programs, series and entertainment rather than the Hebrew ones*.

Statement 46: *Arabic poetry and stories are closer to my heart than those of Hebrew ones.*

Group Three: Attitudes toward Arabic Proficiency

Statement 13: *Being fluent in Arabic means a lot to me*.

Statement 31: *I feel embarrassed when I receive criticism about my Arabic language*.

Statement 34: *Druze who speak Arabic fluently really impress me*.

Statement 36: *I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Arabic proficiency*.

Group Four: Attitudes toward Hebrew Proficiency

Statement 14: *Being fluent in Hebrew means a lot to me.*

Statement 30 : *Druze who speak Hebrew fluently really impress me.*

Statement 40 :*I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency*.

Statement 47: *I will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any other language*.

Statement 51: *When I hear a young Druze woman speak Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud*.

Group Five: Contextual Factors and Language Attitudes

Statement 19: *I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic*.

Statement 24: *Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*.

Statement 25: *Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic*.

Statement 33: I *would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry.*

Statement 43: *I would prefer it if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools*.

Group Six: Cultural Milieu and Language Attitudes

Statement 20: The *Arabic language is important in communicating with the Arab World*,

Statement 21: *The Arabic language is important in communicating with other Druze*.

Statement 37: *Preserving the Arabic language strengthens Druze connections to their heritage*.

Statement 45: *Preserving the standard Arabic language strengthens Druze connections to their religious heritage.*

Group Seven: Instrumental Motives and Language Attitudes

Statement 48: I *would have preferred to have my children study in a Hebrew high school to prepare them better for university*.

Statement 49: Being *as fluent in Hebrew as its native speakers will open more job opportunities for me.*

Group Eight: Identity Factors and Language Attitudes

Statement 53: *Being a native speaker of Arabic means that I am an Arab*.

Statement 55: Since *Druze in Israel speak the Palestinian dialect, they are considered Palestinians.*

Statement 56: My *appreciation for Arabic speakers has increased due to my military service.*

Statement 42: One *can be considered Israeli if he/she speaks Hebrew fluently*.

Group Nine: Language Accommodation and Language Attitudes

Statement 39: When *I visit an Arab village or city in Israel I tend to avoid speaking in Hebrew.*

Statement 41: *When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone Jewish or Arab in Hebrew*.

Statement 50: *When I visit Jordan and Egypt, I avoid using Hebrew.*

Statement 58: *When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the "correct" pronunciation without any evidence of an Arabic accent*.

Group Ten: Attitudes toward Druze Interest in Hebrew

Statement 35: *The Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic, that examines the attitude toward the Druze interest in Hebrew.*

Group Eleven: Concerns About the Increased Use of Hebrew

Statement 52*: I am concerned about the increased use of Hebrew by Druze in Israel.*

Statement 54: *The increased use of Hebrew by Druze negatively affects their Arabic language.*

Group Twelve: Attitudes toward the Effect of Military Service and Language Attitudes

Statement 56: *My appreciation for Arabic speakers has increased due to my military service.*

Statement 23: *My attitude toward Hebrew is more positive as a result of my military service.*

Statement 28: *My appreciation for Hebrew speakers has increased due to my military service.*

Appendix E: Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) Tests' Tables

Table I: Preference toward Hebrew When Compared to Arabic

	Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test					
Independent Variables	Value	F	df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status					NS: p>0.05	
Education	0.947	2.885	9	1156.176	0.002	0.018
Military service	0.913	2.113	18	1162.969	0.004	0.03
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.015	1.814	18	1225.274	0.041	0.015

Table II: Preference toward Arabic When Compared to Hebrew

Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test						
Independent Variables	Value	F	df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status	0.946	2.958	9	115.742	0.002	0.018
Education	0.939	3.346	9	1148.875	p<0.001	0.021
Military service					NS: p>0.05	
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.953	1.867	12	1217.337	0.034	0.016

Table III: Attitudes toward Arabic Proficiency

	Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test					
Independent Variables	Value	F	df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status					NS: p>0.05	
Education					NS: p>0.05	
Military service	0.912	1.608	24	1438.506	0.032	0.023
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.913	2.707	16	1424.291	P<0.001	0.023

Table IV: Attitudes toward Hebrew Proficiency

	Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test					
Independent Variables	Value	F	df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender	0.965	3.433	5	469	0.005	0.035
Marital status					NS: p>0.05	
Education	0.946	1.751	15	1286.822	0.037	0.018
Military service	0.859	2.081	30	1614	0.001	0.03
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.930	1.675	20	1510.014	0.031	0.018

Table V: Contextual Factors and Language Attitudes

Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test						
Independent Variables	Value	F	df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status	0.947	1.728	15	1297.864	0.04	0.018
Education	0.938	2.039	15	1295.104	0.011	0.021
Military service	0.865	1.990	30	1618	0.001	0.029
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.929	1.702	20	1513.331	0.027	0.018

Table VI: Instrumental Motives and Language Attitudes

Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test						
Independent Variables	Value	F	Df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status					NS: p>0.05	
Education					NS: p>0.05	
Military service	0.924	2.776	12	824	0.001	0.039
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.948	3.124	8	932	0.002	0.026

Table VII: Language Accommodation and Language Attitudes

Toward Arabic Speakers:

Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test						
Independent Variables	Value	F	Df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status					NS: p>0.05	
Education	0.938	2.439	6	956	0.024	0.023
Military service					NS: p>0.05	
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.970	2.731	8	932	0.006	0.015

Toward Hebrew Spaekers:

Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test						
Independent Variables	Value	F	Df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status	0.957	3.574	6	960	0.002	0.022
Education	0.938	5.199	6	956	p<0.001	0.032
Military service	0.943	2.064	12	828	0.017	0.029
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age	0.927	4.469	8	932	p<0.001	0.037

Table VIII: Concerns about the Increased Use of Hebrew

Wilks' Lambda multivariate Test						
Independent Variables	Value	F	Df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Squared
Gender					NS: p>0.05	
Marital status					NS: p>0.05	
Education					NS: p>0.05	
Military service	0.943	2.078	12	830	0.016	
Residence					NS: p>0.05	
Age					NS: p>0.05	

Appendix F: Statistics of the Questionnaire's Statements

Strongly agree = SA

Agree=A

Neither agree nor disagree=NAND

Strongly disagree= SD

Statements	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %
13. Being fluent in Arabic means a lot to me	61.5	28.9	4.4	3.4	61.5
14. Being fluent in Hebrew means a lot to me	54.5	35.1	3.2	5.4	54.50
15. I wish Hebrew had been my first language rather than Arabic	6.0	6.4	7.4	34.3	6.0
16. Druze are Arabs without any connection to the Arabic language	35.4	23.2	5.0	18.4	35.4
17. Druze speak a unique language	12.0	16.5	5.4	34.3	12.0
18. I think Arabic is a more elegant language than Hebrew	43.6	22.0	15.2	15.2	43.6
19. I can express certain things in Hebrew better than in Arabic	27.5	36.7	4.0	22.1	27.5
20. The Arabic language is important to communicating with the Arab World	50.3	34.2	4.8	8.9	1.8
21. The Arabic language is important to communicating with other Druze	45.2	37.3	5.4	9.8	2.2
22. I think Hebrew is more advanced than Arabic	6.4	9.6	12.2	41.5	30.3
23. My attitude toward Hebrew is more positive as a result of my military	13.7	15.4	34.0	22.2	14.7
24. Political issues can be discussed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic	16.2	30.1	10.8	30.3	12.6

Appendix F (cont.): Statistics of the Questionnaire's Statements

Statements	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %
25. Feelings and emotions can be expressed more effectively in Hebrew than in Arabic	10.6	15.3	6.2	39.8	28.1
26. I think that Hebrew is more precise and accurate than Arabic	5.7	10.9	9.7	43.8	29.9
27. The Hebrew language is important to communicating with Israelis	55.3	40.9	1.40	2.0	0.4
29. My appreciation for Hebrew speakers has increased because of my occupation	7.2	24.0	20.7	34.6	13.5
30. Druze who speak Hebrew fluently really impress me	7.7	22.9	10.7	36.0	22.7
31. I feel embarrassed when I receive criticism about my Arabic language	12.9	23.3	11.5	29.4	22.9
32. I can easily express myself in Arabic	40.5	38.9	3.6	14.7	2.2
33. I would like Hebrew to become the medium of instruction for science subjects such as Mathematics, Biology and Chemistry	18.3	24.6	8.1	25.1	23.8
34. Druze who speak Arabic fluently really impress me	45.2	28.8	6.9	13.6	5.5
35. Druze in Israel are more interested in Hebrew than Arabic	22.7	42.9	12.1	16.6	5.7
36. I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Arabic proficiency	40.2	38.0	11.8	7.9	2.0
37. Preserving the Arabic language strengthens Druze connection to their heritage	60.1	30.6	4.0	4.3	1.0
38. The Arabic language is important in order to maintain ties to Islamic heritage	19.7	29.8	18.5	17.8	14.2
39. When I visit an Arab village or city in Israel I tend to avoid speaking in Hebrew	15.2	37.3	9.1	31.6	6.7

Appendix F (cont.): Statistics of the Questionnaire's Statements

Statements	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %
40. I feel proud when I receive a compliment about my Hebrew proficiency	20.0	46.1	12.5	16.8	4.6
41. When I visit a Jewish town, I speak with everyone (Jewish or Arab) in Hebrew	5.5	12.4	4.5	49.1	28.6
42. One can be considered Israeli if he/she speaks Hebrew fluently	4.5	12.6	9.7	45.7	27.5
43. I would prefer if Hebrew were to replace Arabic as a medium of instruction in Druze schools	4.5	8.8	3.3	26.5	56.8
44. I prefer to watch Arabic TV programs, series and entertainments rather than the Hebrew ones	24.2	24.8	17.2	25.9	7.8
45. Preserving standard Arabic language strengthens Druze connection to their religious heritage	47.4	38.2	7.5	5.1	1.8
46. Arabic poetry and stories are closer to my heart than those of Hebrew ones	49.7	26.9	8.8	11.8	2.9
47. I will be content if my children learn and master the Hebrew language more than any other language	8.4	18.3	9.9	43.0	20.4
48. I would have preferred my children study in a Hebrew high school to prepare them better for university	13.5	23.2	6.6	32.6	24.2
49. Being fluent in Hebrew as its native speakers will open more job opportunities for me	28.5	43.4	5.7	17.4	4.9

Appendix F (cont.): Statistics of the Questionnaire's Statements

Statements	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %
50. When I visit Jordan and Egypt, I avoid using Hebrew	41.7	38.8	11.1	6.2	2.3
51. When I hear a young Druze woman speaks Hebrew fluently, it makes me proud	10.5	23.5	20.	29.9	16.1
52. I am concerned about the increased use of Hebrew by Druze in Israel	30.3	31.5	9.8	21.5	7.0
54. The increased use of Hebrew by Druze negatively effects their Arabic language	39.7	39.7	4.9	12.5	3.3
57. Mastering the Arabic language will improve my accomplishment	22.5	39.8	12.3	20.3	5.1
58. When I speak Hebrew, I am careful about choosing the 'correct' pronunciation without an evidence of an Arabic accent	12.1	29.7	7.2	33.8	17.2

Statement	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %	Not applicable
28. My appreciation for Hebrew speakers has increased due to my military service	5.1	12.0	31.8	23.7	15.0	12.4

Statement	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %	The Arabic language has nothing to do with my identity
53. Being a native speaker of Arabic means that I am an Arab	33.3	31.5	4.7	8.6	3.7	18.2

Appendix F (cont.): Statistics of the Questionnaire's Statements

Statement	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %	The Palestinian dialect has nothing to do with my identity
55. Since Druze in Israel speak the Palestinian dialect, they are considered Palestinians	7.8	10.4	12.5	18.4	18.4	32.50

Statement	SA %	A %	NAND %	D %	SD %	Not applicable
56. My appreciation for Arabic speakers has increased due to my military service	3.90	6.5	32.5	16.3	8.2	32.7

Appendix G: Sample of Signs

Monolingual Hebrew sign: Private sign in one of Dāliyat al-Carmel's neighborhoods

Monolingual Hebrew signs: Private signs in one of 'Isifya's neighborhoods

Bilingual Arabic – Hebrew sign: Private sign in one of Yarka's neighborhoods

Monolingual Arabic sign: Private sign in one of Yarka's neighborhoods

Monolingual Hebrew sign: Private sign in one of Julis's neighborhoods

Monolingual Arabic sign: Private sign in Shafa'Amer's Druze neighborhood

Bilingual Hebrew-Arabic sign: Clinic in Shafa‘Amer’s Druze neighborhood

Monolingual Hebrew sign: Private sign in Dāliyat al-Carmel’s main street

Monolingual Hebrew signs: Private signs in ‘Isifya’s main street

Monolingual Hebrew signs: Private signs in Yarka’s shopping center

Monolingual Hebrew signs: Private signs in Yarka's shopping center

Bilingual Arabic – Hebrew sign: Private sign in Shafa'Amer's main street

Bilingual English – Arabic sign: Private sign in Shafa‘Amer’s main street

Monolingual Hebrew sign: Private sign in Shafa‘Amer’s main street

Monolingual Hebrew sign: Municipal sign of ‘Isifya

Bilingual Hebrew- Arabic sign: Dāliyat al-Carmel’s high school

Bilingual Hebrew-Arabic sign: Social Security office, the branch of Dāliyat al-Carmel & ‘Isifya

Multilingual Hebrew-English-Arabic signs: Municipal sign streets of Julis

Monolingual Hebrew sign: The Movement of Druze youth in Israel, Yarka's branch

Bilingual Arabic –Hebrew sign: Department of violence, drug and alcohol prevention, the city of Shafa'Amer

Bilingual Hebrew - Arabic sign: The office of employment, Shafa'Amer

Bilingual Hebrew – Arabic: Health office, the northern district, the center for family care, Shafa'Amer

Appendix H: Phonemic Transliteration of Arabic

Standard Arabic	Druze Arabic	Phonemic Transliteration
ء	ء/ أ	’
ب	ب	b
ت	ت	t
ث	ت/ث	th/t
ج	ج	j
ح	ح	ħ
خ	خ	x
د	د	d
ذ	د /ذ	dh/d
ر	ر	r
ز	ز	z
س	س	s
ش	ش	š
ص	ص	ṣ
ض	ض/ ظ	đ/ď
ط	ط	ṭ
ظ	ز/ظ	đ/z
ع	ع	‘
غ	غ	gh
ف	ف	f

Appendix H (cont.): Phonemic Transliteration of Arabic

Standard Arabic	Druze Arabic	Phonemic Transliteration
ق	ق / ء	q/’
ك	ك	k
ل	ل	l
م	م	m
ن	ن	n
هـ	هـ	h
و	و	w
ي	ي	y
Standard Arabic vowel	Druze Arabic vowel	Phonemic Transliteration
ا	ا	ā
و	و	ū
ي	ي	ī
ـَ	ـَ	a
ـِ	ـِ	i
ـُ	ـُ	u

Appendix I: Phonemic Transliteration of Hebrew

Hebrew	Phonemic Transliteration
א	a/’
בּ	b
ב	v
ג	g
ג׳	j
ד	d
ה	h
ו	v
וּ	u
וֹ	o
ז	z
ח	x/ħ
ט	t/ţ
י	i
י-	i
כך	x
כּ ךּ	k
מ	m
נן	n

Appendix I (cont.): Phonemic Transliteration of Hebrew

Hebrew	Phonemic Transliteration
ס	s
ע	ʾ/ʿ
פּ֫	f
פּ	p
צ֫	ts
צ׳ ץ׳	tš
ק	q
שׁ	š
שׂ	s
ת	t

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